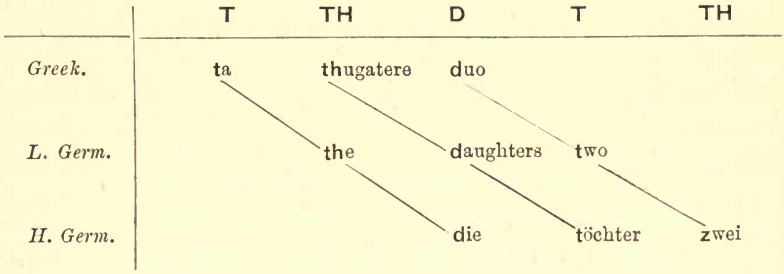

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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

JACOB GRIMM.

TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION (1844).

Now that I am able to put my germinated sprout of German Mythology into its second leafing, I do it with a firmer confidence in the unimpeded progress of its growth. When the first shyness was once overcome, seeking and finding came more quickly together; and facts, that rebuked any effeminate doubt of the reality of scientific discoveries on a field till then considered barren, started up on every side, till now there is a glut of them. Well, I have got my joists and rafters, drawn some lines, laid some courses, and yet guarded against pretending to finality; for who would do that, so long as in one place the materials are wanting, and in another the hands are still full with fetching? I wish to explain all I can, but I am far from being able to explain all I wish.

Criticism, often brilliantly successful on foreign fields, had sinned against our native antiquities, and misused most of the means it had. The immortal work of a Roman writer had shed a light of dawn on the history of Germany, which other nations may well envy us: not content with suspecting the book's genuineness (as though the united Middle Ages had been capable of such a product), its statements, sprung from honest love of truth, were cried down, and the gods it attributes to our ancestors were traced to the intrusion of Roman ideas. Instead of diligently comparing the contents of so precious a testimony with the remnants of our heathenism scattered elsewhere, people made a point of minimizing the value of these few fragments also, and declaring them forged, borrowed, absurd. Such few gods as remained unassailed, it was the fashion to make short work of, by treating them as Gallic or Slavic, just as vagrants are shunted off to the next parish—let our neighbours dispose of the rubbish as they can. The Norse Edda, whose plan, style and substance breathe the remotest antiquity, whose songs lay hold of the heart in a far different way from the extravagantly admired poems of Ossian, they traced to christian and Anglo-Saxon influence, blindly or wilfully overlooking its connexion with the relics of eld in Germany proper, and thinking to set it all down to nurses and spinning-wives (p. 1230), whose very name seemed, to those unacquainted with the essence of folk-lore, to sound the lowest note of contempt. They have had their revenge now, those norns and spindle-bearers.

One may fairly say, that to deny the reality of this mythology is as much as to impugn the high antiquity and the continuity of our language: to every nation a belief in gods was as necessary as language. No one will argue from the absence or poverty of memorials, that our forefathers at any given time did not practise their tongue, did not hand it down; yet the lack or scantiness of information is thoughtlessly alleged as a reason for despoiling our heathenism, antecedent to the conversion, of all its contents, so to speak. History teaches us to recognise in language, the farther we are able to follow it up, a higher perfection of form, which declines as culture advances; as the forms of the thirteenth century are superior to our present ones, and those of the ninth and the fifth stand higher still, it may be presumed that German populations of the first three centuries of our era, whose very names have never reached us, must have spoken a more perfect language than the Gothic itself. Now if such inferences as to what is non-extant are valid in language, if its present condition carries us far back to an older and oldest; a like proceeding must be justifiable in mythology too, and from its dry water-courses we may guess the copious spring, from its stagnant swamps the ancient river. Nations hold fast by prescription: we shall never comprehend their tradition, their superstition, unless we spread under it a bed on still heathen soil.

And these views are confirmed by what we know to be true of poetry and legend. If the heathens already possessed a finely articulated language, and if we concede to them an abundant stock of religious myths, then song and story could not fail to lay hold of these, and to interweave themselves with the rites and customs. That such was the case we are assured by Tacitus; and the testimony of Jornandes and Eginhart leaves not the smallest room for doubt respecting later ages. Those primitive songs on Tuisco, on Mannus and the three races that branched out of him, are echoed long after in the genealogies of Ingo, Iscio, Hermino; so the Hygelâc of the Beowulf-song, whom a tenth century legend that has just emerged from oblivion names Huglacus Magnus (Haupt 5, 10), is found yet again—as a proof that even poetry may agree with history—in the 'Chochilaichus' of Gregory of Tours. If in the 12th and 13th centuries our country's hero-legend gleamed up for the last time, poets must have kept on singing it for a long time before, as is plain from the saved fragment of Hildebrand and the Latin versions of Rudlieb and Waltharius; while not a tone survives of those Low German lays and legends, out of which nevertheless proceeded the Vilkinasaga that mirrors them back. The rise of our Court-poetry has without the slightest ground or necessity been ascribed to the Crusades; if we are to assume any importations from the East, these can more conveniently be traced to the earlier and quieter intercourse of Goths and Northmen with the Greek empire, unless indeed we can make up our minds to place nearly all the coincidences that startle us to the account of a fundamental unity of the European nations, a mighty influence which is seen working through long ages, alike in language, legend and religion.

I am met by the arrogant notion, that the life of whole centuries was pervaded by a soulless cheerless barbarism; this would at once contradict the loving kindness of God, who has made His sun give light to all times, and while endowing men with gifts of body and soul, has instilled into them the consciousness of a higher guidance: on all ages of the world, even those of worst repute, there surely fell a foison of health and wealth, which preserved in nations of a nobler strain their sense of right and law. One has only to recognise the mild and manly spirit of our higher antiquity in the purity and power of the national laws, or the talent inherited by the thirteenth century in its eloquent, inspired poems, in order justly to appreciate legend and myth, which in them had merely struck root once more.

But our inquiry ought to have the benefit of this justice both in great things and in small. Natural science bears witness, that the smallest may be an index to the greatest; and the reason is discoverable, why in our antiquities, while the main features were effaced, petty and apparently accidental ones have been preserved. I am loth to let even slight analogies escape me, such as that between Bregowine, Freáwine, and Gotes friunt (p. 93).

True to my original purpose, I have this time also taken the Norse mythology merely as woof, not as warp. It lies near to us, like the Norse tongue, which, having stood longer undisturbed in its integrity, gives us a deeper insight into the nature of our own, yet not so that either loses itself wholly in the other, or that we can deny to the German language excellences of its own, and to the Gothic a strength superior to both of them together. So the Norse view of the gods may in many ways clear up and complete the German, yet not serve as the sole standard for it, since here, as in the language, there appear sundry divergences of the German type from the Norse, giving the advantage now to the one and now to the other. Had I taken the rich exuberance of the North as the basis of my inquiry, it would have perilously overshadowed and choked the distinctively German, which ought rather to be developed out of itself, and, while often agreeing with the other, yet in some things stands opposed. The case appears therefore to stand thus, that, as we push on, we shall approach the Norse boundary, and at length reach the point where the wall of separation can be pierced, and the two mythologies run together into one greater whole. If at present some new points of connexion have been established, more important diversities have revealed themselves too. To the Norse antiquarians in particular, I hope my procedure will be acceptable: as we gladly give to them in return for what we have received, they ought no less to receive than to give. Our memorials are scantier, but older; theirs are younger and purer; two things it was important here to hold fast: first, that the Norse mythology is genuine, and so must the German be; then, that the German is old, and so must the Norse be.

We have never had an Edda come down to us, nor did any one of our early writers attempt to collect the remains of the heathen faith. Such of the christians as had sucked German milk were soon weaned under Roman training from memories of home, and endeavoured not to preserve, but to efface the last impressions of detested paganism. Jornandes and Paulus Diaconus, who must have had plenty of heathen stories still within their reach, made but slight use of the mythical ones. Other ecclesiastics now and then, for a particular purpose, dole out scraps of information which are of great value to us: Jonas (pp. 56. 109), Beda (p. 289), Alcuin (p. 229), Widukind (p. 253), Adam of Bremen (p. 230). As I have said on p. 9, some monk at St. Gall, Fulda, Merseburg or Corvei might have conceived the happy idea of putting pen to the antiquities of his country, gathering up things of which the footprints were still fresh, and achieving for the foreground of our history, just where it begins to disengage itself from legend, a lasting work, such as Saxo Grammaticus accomplished. Even if German tradition was more blurred and colourless from the seventh century to the eleventh, than was Danish in the twelfth, if estrangement from native legend had advanced more slowly in the far North; yet Waltharius and Rudlieb, or the rhyme of the boar in Notker, may shew us that in the very cloisters there was much still unforgotten of the ancient songs. It is likely that scribes continued for some time to add to the collection set on foot by Charles the Great, the destruction of which has proved an incalculable loss, and from which we might have obtained an abundance of materials and pictures of the remotest eld. The Middle High-German poets found themselves already much farther away from all this; anything they might still unconsciously borrow from it must have been preserved accidentally in traditional forms of poetry or the living idiom of the people. The very book in which heathen names and characters might the most innocently have found a place, Albrecht of Halberstadt's translation of the Metamorphoses, is lost to us in its original form; when Rudolf in his Barlaam from a christian point of view refutes the Grecian gods after the fashion of Chrothilde (see p. 107), he sticks too closely to his text to let any native characteristics come into his head: the age was too entirely absorbed in its immediate present to feel the slightest inclination to look back into its own or other people's distant past. It is not till the 14th or 15th century that sundry writers begin to shew a propensity to this. Gobelinus Persona bestows a mite (p. 254); if Böhmer would but soon give us an edition of the Magdeburg Schöppenchronick and the Chronicon Picturatum, both sadly wanted! Conf. Böhmer's Reg. ed. 1849, p. xxi, pag. 62 ad ann. 1213; Zeuss p. 38. The statements of Botho, uncritical as they are, claim attention, for in his day there may have been accounts still afloat, which have vanished since. A curious one is contained in Joh. Craemer's Chronica sancti Petri in monte crucis ad ann. 1468: 'Matthaeus Huntler in cella Sancti Martini ad Werram vidit librum Johannis Vanderi, ord. S. Benedicti monachi in Reynertsborn, de omnibus gentilium deastris in provincia nostra, quem magna cura conscripsit, et quemlibet deastrum in habitu suo eleganter depinxit cum multis antiquitatibus, in quibus bene versatus esse dicitur.' Botho drew his descriptions from figures of idols that were before his eyes; and at Reinhartsbrunn in Thuringia there might be similar things extant, or the very same that found their way to Brunswick, if only Paullini, whose Syntagma p. 315 furnishes that passage from the chronicle, were not himself suspicious. The like uncertainty hangs over Joh. Berger (p. 96), over a Conradus Fontanus quoted by Letzner (p. 190), and the Frisian Cappidus whose work Hamconius professes to have used (see my chap. XXI, Lotus). Any one that cared to read straight through Berthold of Regensburg's works, dating from the end of the 13th century, would very likely, where the preacher gets to speak of sorcery and devilry, come upon cursory notices of the superstitions of his time, as even the later sermons of Johannes

Herolt (my ch. XXXI, Berchta, Holda), Johannes Nider (d. cir. 1440), and Geiler von Kaisersberg offer some details. And even historians in the 16th and 17th centuries, who rummaged many a dusty archive, such as Aventin, Celtes, Freher, Spangenberger, Letzner (d. after 1612), Nicolaus Gryse (d. 1614), must have had all sorts of available facts within their reach, though to pick the grain out of the chaff would no doubt come easier to us than to them.

Much then is irrecoverably lost to our mythology; I turn to the sources that remain to it, which are partly Written Memorials, partly the never resting stream of living Manners and Story. The former may reach far back, but they present themselves piecemeal and disconnected, while the popular tradition of to-day hangs by threads which ultimately link it without a break to ancient times. Of the priceless records of the Romans, who let the first ray of history fall on their defeated but unsubdued enemy, I have spoken in the fourth and sixth chapters. If among gods and heroes only Tuisco, Mannus and Alx are named in German, and the rest given in 'Romana interpretatio;' on the other hand, the female names Nerthus, Veleda, Tanfana, Huldana (for Hludana), Aliruna, have kept their original form; and so have names of peoples and places that lead back to gods, Ingaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones, Asciburgium. Christian authors also, writing in Latin, prefer the Roman names, yet, when occasion calls, Wodan, Thunar, Frea, Sahsnot cannot be avoided. The refined language of the Goths, and the framework of their hero-legend, lead us to imagine a very full development of their faith, then just giving way to christianity, though to us it has sunk into such utter darkness: such expressions as fráuja, halja, sibja, unhulþo, skôhsl, anz, faírguni, sáuil (as well as sunna), vaíhts, alhs, gudja, hunsl, dulþs, jiuleis, midjun-gards, aúhns, aþn, blôtan, inveitan, must have heathen notions lying at their base, and these would offer themselves far more abundantly if portions of the Gothic Old Testament had reached us. After the lapse of a few centuries we find the other dialects all more or less corrupted when compared with the Gothic, and as a long interval had then passed since the conversion of most of the races, heathenism must have retreated farther from the language also and the poetry. Nevertheless the fragment of Muspilli, the Abrenuntiatio, the Merseburg Lay and a few others, still allow our glances to rove back beyond our expectation; isolated words occur in glosses, and proper names of men, places, herbs, point to other vestiges; not only do gods and heroes step out of the mist, as Wuotan, Donar, Zio, Phol, Paltar, Frôho, Sintarfizilo, Orentil, and goddesses or wise women, as Frouwa, Folla, Sindgund, Wurt; but a host of other words, itis, wiht, urlac, fuld, haruc, hliodar, paro, sigil, zunkal, etc. are found uneradicated. Of course, among the Saxons, who remained heathen longer, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, whose language preserved its warmth better by poetry, such relics are trebly numerous, for beside Wôden, Thunor, Freá, Bealdor, Helle, Eástre, Hrêðe, and the rich store of names in the genealogies, there add themselves Forneot, Wôma, Geofon, Gersuma, Wuscfreá, Bregowine, Earendel, ides, wyrd, wælcyrge, þyrs, eoten, geola, hleodor, bearo, neorxenawong, hæleðhelm, Brosingamene, and many more. What the Middle High German poetry inevitably loses by comparison with the older, is compensated by its greater quantity: together with hero-names like Nibelunc, Schiltunc, Schilbunc, Alberîch, Wielant, Horant, which fall at once within the province of mythology, it has treasured up for us the words tarnkappe, albleich, heilwâc, turse, windesbrût, goltwine and the like, while in oft-recurring phrases about des sunnen haz, des arn winde, des tiuvels muoter, we catch the clear echo of ancient fables. Most vividly, in never-tiring play of colours, the minne-songs paint the triumphal entry of May and Summer: the pining heart missed in the stately march its former god. The personifications of Sælde and Aventiure spring from a deep-hidden root; how significant are the mere names of Wunsch and vâlant, which are not found in all the poets even, let alone in O.H.German! Yet we cannot imagine otherwise than that these words, although their reference to Wuotan and Phol was through long ages latent, were drawn directly and without a break from heathenism. They are a proof of the possibility of traditions lingering only in certain spots, and thus finding their way after all to here and there a poet; totally silenced in places and periods, they suddenly strike up somewhere else, though any district, any dialect, can boast but few or comparatively few of these; it is not many arch-mythical terms, like frau, hölle, wicht, that our language has constant need of, and has never to this day cast off.

If these numerous written memorials have only left us sundry bones and joints, as it were, of our old mythology, its living breath still falls upon us from a vast number of Stories and Customs, handed down through lengthened periods from father to son. With what fidelity they propagate themselves, how exactly they seize and transmit to posterity the essential features of the fable, has never been noticed till now that people have become aware of their great value, and begun to set them down in collections simple and copious. Oral legend is to written records as the folk-song is to poetic art, or the rulings recited by schöffen (scabini) to written codes.

But the folk-tale wants to be gleaned or plucked with a delicate hand. Grasp it rudely, it will curl up its leaves, and deny its dearest fragrance. There lies in it such a store of rich development and blossom, that, even when presented incomplete, it contents us in its native adornment, and would be deranged and damaged by any foreign addition. Whoever should venture on that, ought, if he would shew no gap in his harness, to be initiated into all the innocence of popular poetry; as he who would coin a word, into all the mysteries of language. Out of elben (elves) to make elfen, was doing violence to our language; with still less of forbearance have violent hands been laid on the colouring and contents even of myths. They thought to improve upon the folk-tale, and have always fallen short of it: not even where it shews gaps, is any restoration to be dreamt of, which sits upon it as new whitewash on old ruins, contriving with a couple of dabs to wipe out all the charm. Astonishing are the various shapes its identity assumes, additional adornments spring up on ground where we least expect it; but it is not in every soil that it thrives luxuriantly, here and there it shews scanty or shy; it is sure to be vigorous where rhymes and spells abound in it. The heaviest crops seem to be realized by those collections which, starting from a district rich in legend, glean cautiously from the surrounding neighbourhoods, without straying far from its limits; thus Otmar's Harz-sagen found a favourable field, which is probably worth going over a second time within the like modest bounds. Among collections that have lately come to light, I name Börner's Tales of the Orla-gau, which, grown up on rich legendary soil, yield much that is valuable, though the accompanying discourses fail to realize the true nature of Folk-legend. Bernhard Baader's Tales of Upper Germany afford a rich treasure, in simple suitable language; but in Mone's Anzeiger they are presented in so scattered and inconvenient a form, that they ought to be re-digested in a new edition: the two different versions of the story of Dold (quoted on p. 983), are a good illustration of what I meant just now by 'meagre' and 'luxuriant.' Bechstein's Thuringian Legends seem to me only in the last two volumes to attain the true point of view, and to offer something worth having. The Legends of Samogitia and the Mark, collected by Reusch and Kuhn, satisfy all requirements; they furnish most copious material, and put to shame the notion that any district of Germany is poor in popular traditions, which only elude those who know not the right way to approach them. Soon perhaps we shall get collections laid out on the same thoughtful plan from Holstein, Westphalia, Bavaria and Tyrol.

For Denmark too we have a model collection by Thiele, whose last edition has only just reached me, and still remains unused. Many of the finest Swedish legends have been given us in various places, but a still greater number must be lying ungathered: Afzelius's Sago-häfder, welcome as they are, go too much on the plan of extracting the juice from whatever came to hand. Norway can hardly be less stocked with legend than Sweden, it has moreover its popular lays to shew, into which songs of the Edda have been transmuted, witness the lay of Thor's hammer (p. 181) and the Sôlar-lay. In our own day, J. W. Wolf is labouring on the popular traditions of Belgium, and Rob. Chambers on those of Scotland, with zeal and visible success.

The Fairy-tale (märchen) is with good reason distinguished from the Legend, though by turns they play into one another. Looser, less fettered than legend, the Fairy-tale lacks that local habitation, which hampers legend, but makes it the more homelike. The Fairy-tale flies, the legend walks, knocks at your door; the one can draw freely out of the fulness of poetry, the other has almost the authority of history. As the Fairy-tale stands related to legend, so does legend to history, and (we may add) so does history to real life. In real existence all the outlines are sharp, clear and certain, which on history's canvas are gradually shaded off and toned down. The ancient mythus, however, combines to some extent the qualities of fairy-tale and legend; untrammelled in its flight, it can yet settle down in a local home.

It was thought once, that after the Italian and French collections of Fairy-tales it was too late to attempt any in Germany, but this is contradicted by fact; and Molbech's collection, and many specimens inserted in his book by Afzelius, testify also how rich Denmark and Sweden are in fairy-tales not yet extinct. But all collections have wellnigh been overtopt lately by the Norwegian (still unfinished) of Moe and Asbiörnsen, with its fresh and full store; and treasures not a few must be lurking in England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, from all of which Mythology may look to receive manifold gain.

To indicate briefly the gain she has already derived from the Folk-tale (legend): it is plain that to this alone we owe our knowledge of the goddesses Holda, Berhta and Fricka, as also the myth of the Wild Hunt which leads us straight to Wôdan. The tale of the old beggar-wife is a reminiscence of Grîmnir. Of the wise-women, of swan-wives, of kings shut up in hills we should have learnt little from written documents, did not Legend spread her light over them; even the myths of the Sin-flood and the World's Destruction she has not lost sight of to this day. But what is most fondly cherished in her, and woven into the gayest tissues, is the delightful narratives of giants, dwarfs, elves, little wights, nixies, night-hags and home-sprites, these last being related to the rest as the tame beasts of the fable are to the wild and unsubjugated: in poetry the wild is always superior to the tamed. The legend of the sun-blind dwarfs (pp. 466n., 1247) and that of the blood-vat (pp. 468n., 902) remind us of the Edda.

In the Fairy-tale also, dwarfs and giants play their part: Swan-witchen (Swan-white) and Dorn-röschen (Thorn-rose = Sleeping Beauty), pp. 425, 1204 are a swan-wife and a valkyr; the three spinning-wives, p. 415, are norns; the footstool hurled down from the heavenly seat (p. 136), Death as a godfather (p. 853), the player's throw and Jack the gamester (pp. 818n., 887) reach back to heathen times. Fairy-tales, not legends, have in common with the god-myth a multitude of metamorphoses; and they often let animals come upon the stage, and so they trespass on the old Animal-epos.

In addition to the fairy-tale and folk-tale, which to this day supply healthy nourishment to youth and the common people, and which they will not give up, whatever other pabulum you may place before them, we must take account of Rites and Customs, which, having sprung out of antiquity and continued ever since, may yield any amount of revelations concerning it. I have endeavoured to shew how ignition by friction, Easter fires, healing fountains, rain-processions, sacred animals, the conflict between summer and winter, the carrying-out of Death, and the whole heap of superstitions, especially about path-crossing and the healing of diseases, are distinctly traceable to heathen origins. Of many things, however, the explanation stands reserved for a minute inquiry devoting itself to the entire life of the people through the different seasons of the year and times of life; and no less will the whole compass of our law-antiquities shed a searching light on the old religion and manners. In festivals and games comes out the bright joyous side of the olden time; I have been anxious to point out the manifold, though never developed, germs of dramatic representation, which may be compared to the first attempts of Greek or Roman art. The Yule-play is still acted here and there in the North; its mode of performance in Gothland (p. 43) bears reference to Freyr. The little wights' play is mentioned on p. 441 n.; on the bear's play (p. 785) I intend to enlarge more fully elsewhere. Sword-dance and giant's dance (p. 304), Berchta's running (p. 279), Whitsun play (p. 785), Easter play (p. 780), the induction of summer or May, the violet-hunt and the swallow's welcome are founded on purely heathen views; even the custom of the kilt-gang, like that of watchmen's songs (p. 749), can be traced up to the most antique festivities.

Such are our sources, and so far do they still carry us: let us examine what results the study of them hitherto has yielded.

Divinities form the core of all mythology: ours were buried almost out of sight, and had to be dug out. Their footmarks were to be traced, partly in Names that had stubbornly refused to be rooted out, yet offered little more than their bare sound; partly, under some altered guise, in the more fluid but fuller form of the Folk-tale. This last applies more to the goddesses, the former to the gods. Gods and heroes are found in the very names of runes, the first of which in Old Norse is Freyr, others are Thor, Zio, Eor, Asc, Man, but nowhere goddesses.

The gods that have kept the firmest hold are the three marked in the days of the week as Mercury, Jupiter, Mars; and of these, Wuotan stands out the most distinct. Jonas, Fredegar, Paulus Diaconus and the Abrenuntiatio name him, he towers at the head of ancient lines of kings, many places bear the indelible impress of his name. Woedenspanne signified a part of the human hand, as the North named another part 'ûlf-liðr,' wolf-lith, after the god Týr. Unexpectedly our 13th century has preserved for us one of his names [Wish], which lies in abeyance even in the Norse system, yet is the one that stands in the closest contact with the women that do the god's bidding, with the wand that unlocks his hoard, with the mantle that carries him through the air, nay, is the only one that puts all these in the true light. The Norse name Omi is not quite so clearly explained by the AS. Wôma, though the word marks unmistakably the stormful god whom we know more certainly through our legend of the 'furious host': the wide cloak and low hat are retained in the name Hackelbernd, which I venture to trace back to a Gothic Hakul-baírands (p. 146-7). As Longbeard, the god deep-sunk in his mountain-sleep is reproduced in the royal heroes Charles and Frederick: *who* better than Wuotan, on whose shoulder they sit and bring him thoughts and tidings, was entitled to inquire after the flying ravens? Ravens and wolves scented his march to victory, and they above all other animals have entered into the proper names of the people. In the Norse sagas the questioner is a blind graybeard, who just as plainly is old Oðin again. Father of victory, he is likewise god of blessing and bliss, *i.e.* Wish over again, whose place is afterwards occupied by Sâlida (well-being). Since he appears alike as god of poetry, of measurement, of the span, of the boundary and of the dice-throw, all gifts, treasures, arts may be regarded as having proceeded from him.

Though a son of Wuotan and yielding to him in power or influence, Donar (Thunar, Thor) appears at times identical with him, and to some extent as an older god worshipped before Wuotan. For, like Jupiter, he is a father, he is grandfather of many nations, and, as grandfather, is a god of the hills, a god of the rocks, a hammer, sits in the forest, throned on the mountain top, and hurls his old stone weapon, the lightning's bolt. To him the oak was sacred, and his hammer's throw measured out land, as did afterwards Wuotan's wand. He rather flies furiously at the giants than fights battles at the head of heroes, or meditates the art of war. I think it a significant feature, that he drives or walks, instead of riding like Wuotan: he never presents himself in the wild hunt, nor in women's company. But his name is still heard in curses (Wuotan's only in protestations, p. 132); and as Redbeard, Donar might sit in the mountain too. The heroes all go to Wuotan's heaven, the common folk turn in at Donar's; beside the elegant stately Wuotan, we see about Donar something plebeian, boorish and uncouth. He seems the more primitive deity, displaced in the course of ages (yet not everywhere) by a kindred but more comprehensive one.

If Wuotan and Donar are to be regarded as exalted deities of heaven, much more may Zio, Tius, be accepted as such, whose name expresses literally the notion of sky, while Wuotan signifies the air, and Donar the thunderstorm. And as Wuotan turns the tide of battle, Zio presents himself as the special god of war; as Donar flings the hammer and Wuotan the spear, he is god of the sword, as exhibited in the names Sahsnôt and Heru. But here much remains dark to us, because our legend has lost sight of Zio altogether. Like Wuotan, he also seems to rush down from the sky in the form of tempest.

Two others, though never appearing in the week, must yet be reckoned among the great gods. Froho, a god of hunting, of generation, fertility and summer, had long planted his name in the heart of our language, where he still maintains his ground in the derivatives frôn and frönen; his sacred golden-bristled boar survived in helmet-crests, in pastry, and at the festive meal. Year by year in kingly state Froho journeyed through the lands (p. 213. 760). He is the gracious loving deity, in contrast with the two last-mentioned, and with Wuotan in one aspect; for, as Wish, Wuotan also seems kindly and creative like Froho.

As to Phol, scarcely known to us till now, I have hazarded so many conjectures that I will not add to their number here. If, as appears most likely, he is synonymous with Paltar (Balder), he must pass for a god of light, but also of fire, and again of tempest; under another view he haunted wells and springs. He approximates the higher elemental powers, and could the more easily be perverted into a diabolic being. Equally lost to Germany is the name of the Norse Loki, who represents fire in another aspect, and was still better qualified to stand for the devil. The stories of his artfulness, his cunning tricks, have reproduced themselves repeatedly in all branches of our race.

I now turn to the Goddesses. A mother of gods, Nerthus, is named to us by Tacitus; her name is the exact counterpart to that of a Norse god, who confirms her existence, as Freyr would confirm that of Freyja, had she come down to us only as the High German Frouwa, and from the Gothic fráuja (m.) we have the same right to infer a fem. fráujô. Say that her name of Nerthus has long ago died out, if it ever extended to all branches of our race; a whole group of beings almost identical with her lives on in fadeless legend: Holde, Berhte, Fricke, Harke, Gaue, Stempe, Trempe. At the first glance none of these names seem to go very high up; yet, Berhte at all events is introduced in poems of the 14–15th century, and the matter begins to wear another look the moment we can set her beside the Carolingian Berhta, beside the Eddic Biört (p. 1149), beside the deeply rooted tradition of the 'white lady.' Of dame Holda the legend was never written down till the 17th century; if Holda was in the Venus-mountain, which goes as far back as the 14th, she at once gains in importance; then further, in the 12th century we can point to Pharaïldis (p. 284); and if, to crown all, Huldana in the stone inscription is correct (p. 266), we can have but little doubt of a Gothic worship of Hulþô (p. 990). Now, as Berhta and Holda are adjective names, I was fain to claim for Nerthus also an adj. basis naírthus, with the sense of mild, gracious, fair. Frigg too (p. 301-2) I interpret by the adj. free, fair, gracious. If Gaue, Gauden, is a corruption of the masc. Wôden, it might still have an accessory notion of good. Frouwa is obviously the fem. to Froho, and still asserts her full power in our present frau. Almost all names of the female deities have still a transparent meaning; as compared with those of the male, there is something innocent and inviolable in them, and for that reason they seem to have been treated tenderly or tolerated. The delicacy and inoffensive matter of the myth have shielded it longer in popular legend.

The goddess Hellia has exchanged her personal meaning for a local one, that of hell. Ostara, Eástre, is preserved at least in the name of the high festival; and Hreda, if my conjecture be sound, in the word for a bride's gerada (outfit), as Zio was in the name of the sword. Folla and Sindgund have only come to light through the latest discoveries.

This muster of divinities is strong enough to support the whole remaining framework of mythology; where such pillars stand, any amount of superstructure and decoration may be taken for granted. Considered in and for themselves, almost all the individual deities appear emanations and branches of a single One; the gods as heaven, the goddesses as earth, the one as fathers, the other as mothers, the former creating, governing, guiding, lords of victory and bliss, of air, fire and water, the goddesses nourishing, spinning, tilling, beautiful, bedizened, loving.

As all the sounds of language are reducible to a few, from whose simplicity the rest can be derived—the vowels by broadening, narrowing, and combination into diphthongs, the mute consonants by subdivision of their three groups each into three stages, while particular dialects shift them from one stage to another in regular gradation[1];—so in Mythology I reduce the long array of divine personages to their unity, and let their multiplicity spring out of this unity; and we can hardly go wrong in assuming for deities and heroes a similar coincidence, combination and gradation, according to their characters and particular

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[1] Thus, to take an example from the Dentals:

	T	TH	D	T	TH
Greek.	ta	thugatere	duo		
L. Germ.		the	daughters	two	
H. Germ.			die	töchter	zwei

It will be seen that the High Germ. is always a stage in advance of Low Germ., and this a stage in advance of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, &c. The Germ. *z* is sounded *ts*; and *s*, like *h*, is a breathing.—Trans.

functions. How Wuotan, Donar, and Zio partly run into one another has been shewn; Logi (lowe, blaze) becomes Loki (lock, bolt), *g* becomes *k*, the sense of fire is exchanged for that of bolts and bars (of hell), as Hamar and Heru came to signify the implements they used. We have seen Wuotan reappear in long-bearded Charles, in red-bearded Frederick. On comparing the Norse hero-legend with the German, we see remarkable instances of this shifting and displacement of names and persons. Gudrun in the Edda occupies the place of our Krîmhilt, while Grîmhildr is her mother's name; in the Vilkinasaga Mîmir is the smith and Reginn the dragon, in the Völsungasaga Reginn is the smith and Fâfnir the dragon. If these changes took place at haphazard, there would be nothing in them; but they seem to proceed by regular gradation, without leaps.

Among all branches of the Teutonic race there shew themselves innumerable varieties of dialect, each possessing an equal right; so likewise in the people's religion we must presuppose a good many differences: the difficulty is to reconcile in every case the local bearings of the matter with the temporal. If the more numerous testimonies to Wuotan in Lower Germany would lead us to infer that he was held in higher esteem by Saxons than by Alemanns or Bavarians, we must remember that this (apparent) preference is mainly due to the longer continuance of heathenism in the north; that in the first few centuries after conversion the south too would have borne abundant witness to the god. Upper Germany has now scarcely a single name of a place compounded with Wuotan (p. 158), Wuotan's day has there given place to 'midweek,' and just there the legend of his 'wütende heer' is found more alive than elsewhere! It would be a great thing to ascertain whereabouts—whether among Goths—the designation Faírguneis prevailed above that of Thunrs. Any conclusion drawn from the proximity of the Lithuanian Perkunas, the Slavic Perun, may seem bold, though it is precisely to these two nations that the Gothic and High German incline more than the Low German, even in language: witness Hruodo and Kirt (p. 248). It seems an easier matter to trace the distinction between Zio and Eru, and follow it up to Swabia and Bavaria; yet, if my conjecture be right, the Cheruscans must of all races have had the best claim to Eru. Even the name of the plant Ziolinta (p. 1193) is worth taking into account. Sahsnôt, Seaxneát, was assuredly an eponymous deity of the Saxons. How do Paltar and Phol stand to one another, as regards the nations that were devoted to them? Phol appears to point, now eastward, now westward. An important mark of distinction is the change of gender in the same name of a god among different tribes. In Gothic the masc. fráuja (lord) was still current as a common noun, in O.H. German the fem. frouwâ, in O. Saxon only the masc. frôho, frô, A.S. freá, so that Goths and Saxons seem to have preferred the god, High Germans the goddess; in the North both Freyr and Freyja are honoured alike. But the North knows only the god Niörðr, and the Germans living on the opposite side of the Baltic only the goddess Nerthus. The relation of Zio to Zisa, perhaps Isis (p. 298), demands further explanation. No doubt the numerous aliases of that female deity, who is not yet forgotten in modern legend, are due to differences of race: Holda shews herself in Hesse, Thuringia, and North Franconia, Berhta in Vogtland, East Franconia and sundry tracts of Swabia, where likewise a male Berhtold encounters us. There is no trace of either goddess in Lower Germany, but a dame Freke now turns up in the Mark, and dame Gaue haunts Mecklenburg between Elbe and Weser. Yet in ancient times Holda, as Huldana, must have reached far westward to the Rhine, and, if the Ver-hilden-straet (p. 285) was named after her, into the Netherlands, reminding us of the kinship between Chatti and Batavi; while the Carolingian Berhta Pedauca and the Biört of the Edda would betoken a similar extension of Berhta's worship. We must pay regard to the almost universal rush of nations toward the West: even Isis and her Suevian ship we managed to trace as far as the Ardennes.——But, beside the deities, other portions of mythology must also have their say. Himins and himil, himel and heven are discussed on p. 698, the lapse of Himil into Gimill on p. 823; in Hesse is the borderland between Wights and Elves, the one belonging to Franconian, the other to Saxon soil: the Low Saxon hüne is out of use in High Germany, even in O.H. German the hûni seem to be only Huns, not giants, and the M.H. German hiune had a very limited circulation, being never heard now in Hesse, Swabia or Bavaria, unless we are to look for it in the name of the disease (p. 1163).

Such investigations and similar ones capable of indefinite expansion, some of them not even dreamt of at present, may gradually become important to the internal aspect of our own Mythology: a still more urgent task is, to establish its relation to the Religions of Other Nations; nay, this is really the hinge on which mythological study in general turns. But seldom have their mutual influences or differences been so successfully explored, as to educe therefrom a safe standard for the treatment of any one mythology.

Every nation seems instigated by nature to isolate itself, to keep itself untouched by foreign ingredients. Its language, its epos feel happy in the home circle alone; only so long as it rolls between its own banks does the stream retain its colour pure. An undisturbed development of all its own energies and inmost impulses proceeds from this source, and our oldest language, poetry and legend seem to take no other course. But the river has not only to take up the brooks that convey fresh waters to it from hill and mountain, but to disembogue itself at last in the wide ocean: nations border upon nations, and peaceful intercourse or war and conquest blend their destinies in one. From their combinations will come unexpected results, whose gain deserves to be weighed against the loss entailed by the suppression of the domestic element. If the language, literature and faith of our forefathers could at no time resist at all points the pressure of the Foreign, they have one and all undergone the most disruptive revolution by the people's passing over to Christianity.

We had long plagued ourselves to derive all languages from the far-off Hebrew; it was only by closely studying the history of the European idioms near at hand, that a safe road was at length thrown open, which, leaving on one side for the moment the Semitic province, leads farther on into the heart of Asia. Between the Indian and Zendic languages and the majority of those which spread themselves over Europe there exists an immediate tie, yet of such a kind as makes them all appear as sisters, who at the outset had the same leading features, but afterwards, striking into paths of their own, have everywhere found occasion and reason to diverge from each other. Amongst all languages on earth points of contact are to be found, any discovered rule compels us to admit exceptions, and these exceptions are apt to be misleading; but the rule teaches us to fix upon fundamental distinctions, for which we can only expect a very slow resolution into a higher unity. While there is every appearance of Europe not having contained any aborigines, but received its population gradually from Asia, yet the figures in our chronologies do not reach back to the actual descent of all human speech from one original source; and the strata of our mountains bear witness to a higher prehistoric age, whose immeasurable breadth no inquirer can penetrate. Then, over and above the original kinship necessarily underlying the facts taught by comparative philology, we must also assume in the history of European tongues some external, accidental and manifest interchanges of influence between them, which, powerful and resultful as they may have been, are to be carefully distinguished from that more hidden agency: we have only to call to mind the former influence of Latin and the later of French on almost all the other languages, or the origin of English from a mixture of Teutonic and Romance elements. The difference between the two kinds of likeness shews itself especially in the fact that, while the originally cognate elements of a language remain flexible and intelligible, the borrowed ones, because they are borrowed, shew an indistinctness of form and a crippling of movement. Hence all cognate words are rooted in the essential life of a language, about which the borrowed ones mostly tell us nothing: how lifeless, for example, has our adj. rund become!

whereas the French rond, from which it comes, can still carry us back to roond, reond, the Span. redondo, It. rotondo, and so to rotundus, and therefore rota. Again, cognate forms are seldom confined to one stem or branch, but run impartially through several: *e.g.* our numerals; our ist, Goth. ist, Lat. est, Gr. ἐστί, Skr. asti; the Goth. sa, sô, þata, AS. se, seo, þæt, ON. sa, sû, þat, Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό, Skr. sa, sâ, tad; all of them consonances which did not arise, like that 'rund,' at some definite assignable period, but were there from time immemorial.

These examples are well known, and are here chosen merely to make good for Mythology also a distinction between material that was common from the first and that which was borrowed and came in later. Our scholarship, disloyal to its country, inured to outlandish pomp and polish, loaded with foreign speech and science, miserably stocked with that of home, was prepared to subordinate the myths of our olden time to those of Greece and Rome, as something higher and stronger, and to overlook the independence of German poetry and legend, just as if in grammar also we were free to derive the German ist from est and ἐστί, instead of putting the claims of these three forms perfectly on a par. Giving the go-by to that really wonderful and delightful consonance, whose origin would have had to be pushed far back, they struggled, however much against the grain, to hunt up any possible occasions of recent borrowing, so as to strip their country of all productive power and pith. Not content even with handing over our mythology to foreign countries, they were eager, with as little reason, to shift its contents into the sphere of history, and to disparage essentially unhistoric elements by expounding them as facts.

Why hold our tongues about the mischief and the caprices of this criticism? Mone, an honest and able explorer, whose strenuous industry I respect, will often come half-way to meet the truth, then suddenly spring aside and begin worrying her. By hook or by crook the Reinhart of our apologue must be resolved into a historical one, the Siegfried of our heroic lay into Arminius, Civilis and Siegbert by turns, Tanhäuser into Ulysses.

In all that I had gathered by a careful comparison of original authorities on sorcery and witches, he of course can see neither circumspectness nor moderation, who gravely imagines that witchcraft was once a reality, who from the minutes of a single trial in 1628 jumps at once to the Greek Dionysia, makes the devil Dionysus, and warms up again the stale explanation of hexe (witch) from Hecate. This is allowing the devil a great antiquity in comparison with those heroes; to me Reinhart and Isengrim seem to reach up far higher than the ninth century, and Siegfried even beyond Arminius, therefore a long way before the time when the term devil first came into our language. Several designations of the giants are unmistakably connected with the names of surrounding nations; Mone's view applies them to Indians, Frisians, Persians, according as the words ent and wrise suit his purpose; let no one be startled to find that Caucasus comes from our Gouchsberg (cuckoo's hill)!

A later work, whose merits I acknowledge on p. 1070n., comes in not unseasonably here. Soldan agrees in my opinion on the atrocity and folly of the witch-persecutions, but he would dispute the connection of witches with German mythology, and derive all our magic and demonology from the Greeks and Romans again. The resemblance of the mediæval notions to classical antiquity strikes him so forcibly, that he seems to think, either that Germany and all barbarian Europe till their early contact with the Romans were without any magic or belief in ghosts, or that such belief suddenly died out. The Walburgis-night, it seems, was suggested by Roman lares praestites, even the practice of bidding for fiefs by floralia and averruncalia, and the cutting of henbane by the fruges excantare: why may not our es also come from id, our auge from oculus, our zehn from decem? At that rate Wuotan might without more ado be traced back to Jupiter, Holda to Diana, the alp to the genius, all German mythology to Roman, and nothing be left us of our own but the bare soil that drank in the foreign doctrine.

When two nations resemble each other in language, manners, and religion, such agreement is welcome in proof of their age, and is not to be perverted to conclusions in favour of borrowing or influence which any peculiarity in them may suggest. But the stamp of authority will be given to research, when side by side with the string of consonances there also runs an inevitable string of divergences and transpositions.

In our book of heroes the adventures of Wolfdieterich and Orendel have in their several ways a striking similarity to features in the Odyssey, especially does the angel's mission to shaggy Els and to lady Breide resemble that of Hermes to Calypso, when she is commanded to let Odysseus go. But such wanderings of heroes and encounters with wise women and giants seem to be a common epic property prevailing everywhere, while the very absence here of all the other main motives of the Greek myth excludes the supposition of borrowing. We may surely give their due weight to the many resemblances of Wuotan to Zeus and Apollo, of Zio to Zeus and Ares, we may recognise Nerthus in Demeter, Frigg and Freyja in Hera and Aphrodite, Wieland in Hephæstus and Dædalus, without the whole swarm of Grecian gods needing therefore to be transported to our soil, or all that this produced having to be looked for in Greece. Must 'honum hlô hugr î briosti' have somehow got into the Edda from Homer's ἐγέλασσε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ? The distinction, drawn in Homer as well as the Edda, between the speech of gods and of men may signify something to us, and yet be no harder to explain than the identity of Zio with Zeus, or of Ζεὺς πατήρ with All-father. It is beautiful how Venus and venustus are made intelligible by the ON. vænn and vænstr, and even by the O. Sax. superlative wânumo. What is true of the Greek and Roman mythologies, that with all their similarity they are yet far from identical, has to be asserted with still more emphasis of the relation between the Roman and German, inasmuch as Greek literature left an infinitely deeper dint on the Roman, than Latin literature was ever able to produce on our antiquity. If in ch. XXXV and XXXVII many things are quoted which appear to spring out of Roman superstition, it is fully justified by the poverty of native information compelling me to seek a support for it from abroad:

I do not suppose that the old German fancies about beasts crossing one's path, or about the virtues of herbs, were in themselves any poorer than the Roman.

What I claim for Teutonic nations as compared with the Greeks and Romans, must also hold good of them as regards the Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, whose paganism was similar to ours or not so similar. Here however the quantity of coincidences is still more damaging to the theory of plagiarisms, which would else encumber every nook and corner.

In favour of the study of Celtic languages and legends a wholesome reaction has set in, insisting that this downtrodden race, which once occupied wide tracts of Germany, shall receive its due. By no means poor in memorials, it has an auxiliary resource in several living tongues, the Armoric, Welsh, Irish and Highland Scotch. But the paths still lie uncertain and slippery, and what we concede to the Celts ought not in the zeal of discovery to be turned against ourselves; in cases of resemblance what is genuinely German must put in its claim too. Now Heinrich Schreiber's interesting studies of grave-mounds, weapons and fays appear to me at times to stray beyond the true line: surely the horses' heads on roof-gables in Mecklenburg and Holstein are more undoubtedly German than the similar ones in Switzerland are Celtic; and so far as our elfins and white ladies extend, they have their justification, as the fays have on the other side. Some obscure names of animals Leo has, I think, succeeded in interpreting as Celtic; so long as he is obliged to leave the main characters in the fable German, as Reginhart and Isangrim, I have no fear for the genuineness of our epos; and the foreignness of subordinate characters tends to throw farther back the date of the entire poem. Also what he contributes to Nerthus and muspell (Haupt 3, 226) demands attention. Beside the fays, who answer to our swan-maidens, wish-wives and norns, beside Abundia, who resembles Folla (fulness), I attach importance to Taranis = Donar, to Gwydion = Wuotan, to Beal = Phol or Balder, and I am not sure but that Hesus is the same as Cheru, and that Segomon (p. 371) ought not to be overlooked. Needfires and May-offerings are subjects for consideration. It would greatly advance our knowledge of Wuotan's true nature, if we could ascertain how far the Celtic worship of Mercury differed from the Roman; to all appearance that deity was greater to the Celts and Germans than Hermes-Mercury was to the Greeks and Romans; to Trismegistus and Tervagan I allude on p. 150. All that is left us of the Celtic religion, even in stray fragments, bespeaks a more finished mental culture than is to be found in German or Norse mythology; there comes out in it more of priestly lore. But in respect of genius and epic matter our memorials are incomparably superior.

As the Celts enclose us on the west, so do the Slavs on the east; and Slavic writers, like the Celtic, are rather fond, wherever their ancient faith coincides with ours, of interpreting things from a Slavic point of view, which can just as well be explained from a German. The affinity of the two races can be perceived at once by such old cognate words as the Gothic sunus (son), O.H. German sunu, Slavic syn; Goth. liubs (dear), OHG. liop, Boh. liby, Russ. liubo; Goth. láuþs (people), OHG. liut, Slav. liud; Goth. hláifs (loaf), OHG. hleip, Slav. khlêb. And the mythic resemblances are no less significant. Radegast must stand for Wuotan, Perun for Faírguneis, Fiörgunn, but Svatovit for Zio; between Radegast the god of bliss (rad glad, radost joy), and our Wish, the harmony is yet stronger. Kroto reminds us of Kirt, Molnia of Miölnir (pp. 1221. 813). How near the badniak of the Servians comes to our Christmas fire! their cuckoo-pole to the Langobardic dove-pole (p. 1135n.), their dodola to the fetching-in of rain (p. 594), the carrying-out of death to the fight of summer and winter, the vila to our wise-women! If the elf and dwarf legends appear less polished than they are among Celts and Germans, our giant legend on the other hand has much more in common with the Slavic and Finnic. No doubt Slav mythology altogether is several degrees wilder and grosser than German, yet many things in it will make a different figure when once the legends and fairy tales are more fully and faithfully gathered in, and the gain to German research also will be great.

From similar collections of Lithuanian, Samogitian and Lettish myths revelations no less important are impending, as we may anticipate from the remarkable connexion between the languages.

More results have already been attained in Finland, whose people, comparable in this to the Servians alone, have in their mouths to this day a most wonderful store of songs and tales, though in Servian poetry the heroic legend predominates, and in Finnic the myth. Merely by what Ganander, Porthan and now Lönnrot have published, an immense deal is bridged over between the German, Norse, Slav, Greek and Asiatic mythologies. Rask (in Afhand. 1, 96) had already derived some Norse names of giants from Finnic. And further, the distinction we made between legend and fairy-tale does not at all apply as yet to this Finnic poetry: it stands at an older stage, where the marvels of the fairy-tale without any sense of incongruity mingle with the firmer basis of the folk-tale, and even the animal fable can be admitted. Wäinämöinen (Esth. Wannemunne) can be compared to Wuotan both in general, and particularly in his character of Wish: the Finnic waino and wainotem signify desiderium, wainok cupidus, wainotet desiderare: the Swedish Lapps, with a kindred language, have waino (wish, desire), and the Norwegian Lapps vaimel cupidus. Thus Wish, Radegast and Wäinämöinen seem to be getting nearer to each other. This last is a god of poetry and singing (p. 907), he is constantly called Wanha, the old one, as the thunder-god Ukko likewise is called father or old, and his wife Akka mother or old. With the Lapps, Atia means both grandfather and thunder (see 'old daddy,' p. 168). As Thor's minni was drunk, so full bowls were emptied in honour of Ukko. Wäinämöinen wakes Wipune out of her grave (Rune 10), as Oðinn does Völa. Ilmarinen, the smith-god of the Finns, reminds us of Hephæstus and Völundr, but makes a deeper impression than either; he fashioned a wife for himself out of gold (conf. p. 570 n.). To the Lapps, Sarakka means creatress, from saret to create, a goddess of fortune.

All Finnish nations use Yumala as a general name for the

Supreme Being in the sense of our God or the Slavic Bôgh, to which corresponds the Swed. Lapp. yupmel, Norw. Lapp. ibmel; but the Syriän have also yen (gen. yenlon), the Permians en, the Votiaks inmar, the Tcheremiss yumn. Along the northern edge of Europe and over the Ural into northern Asia extends this widespread group of nations of the Finn kind, their languages and myths shewing everywhere a common character. The Votiaks, like the Slavs and Germans, hold the woodpecker sacred (p. 765); but what I lay special stress upon is the bear-worship of these nations, which has left its traces in Sweden and Norway, and betrays the earliest stage of our Teutonic beast-legend (p. 667). Poetic euphemisms designate the sacred beast, and as soon as he is slain, solemn hymns are struck up as by way of atonement. Runes 28 and 29 in Kalewala describe such a hunt with all its ceremonial. Ostiaks in taking an oath kneel on a bearskin, in heathen sacrifices they covered the victim with a bearskin (p. 1010), and long afterwards they hung bearskins about them in the service of the devil (p. 1018). As the bear was king of all beasts, the terms applied to him of 'old one' and 'grandfather' suggest those of the thunder-god. The constellation of the Great Bear (p. 725) would of itself seem an evident trace of his worship even among the Greeks.

Coming down from northern Asia to the tribes of the Caucasus, we again meet with the most remarkable coincidences. The Tcherkesses (Circassians) keep up a worship of the boar (p. 215), as did the ancient Aestyi and Germani. Both Tcherkesses and Ossets glorify the same Elias (p. 173-4, conf. p. 185) who is such a sacred personage to the Slav races. Even the ancient Alani and Scythians seem to be linked with the heathen Germans by their worship of the sword (p. 204); Attila means grandfather, and is among Huns as well as Germans a name for mountains. The same inspection of shoulder-blades that Jornandes relates of Huns goes on to this day among Kalmuks (p. 1113). A good many Mongolian customs agree with those of Celts and Germans: I will only instance the barleycorn's being the unit of all measurement of land (see my account of it in Berl. Jahrb. for 1842, pp. 795-6); conf. the Finnic ohrasen yiveä = hordei granum, Kal. 17, 625. 27, 138.

A still closer agreement with our antiquities than exists among Finns and Mongols is to be looked for in the more cognate Zendic and Indian mythologies. That of India is finely wrought like the Greek, but I think the Greek has the same advantage over it that I awarded to the German as compared with the Celtic: a certain theosophic propensity betrays itself in the Indians as well as Celts, which in the fulness of Greek and German myth falls more into the background. It seems worthy of notice, that to the Indian gods and goddesses are assigned celestial dwellings with proper names, as in the Edda. Among the gods themselves, Brahma's creative power resembles Wuotan's, Indra is akin to Donar, being the wielder of lightning and the ruler of air and winds, so that as god of the sky he can also be compared to Zio. The unison of our Wish with the notion embodied in manoratha (p. 870) deserves attention. Nerthus answers to Bhavani (p. 255), Halja to Kâli, and Mannus to Manus (p. 578), the last two examples being letter for letter the same; but one thing that must not be overlooked is, that the same myth of man's creation out of eight materials (pp. 564—7) which has already turned up five times, appears in a portion of the Vedas, the Aitareya Aranya, from which an excerpt is given in Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, Lond. 1837, vol. 1, p. 47 seq.; here also eight ingredients are enumerated: fire, air, sun, space, herb, moon, death, and water. Naturally the details vary again, though even the five European accounts are not without a certain Indian colouring. Still more interesting perhaps is an echo that reaches the very heart of our hero-legend. Putraka (in Somadeva i. 19) comes upon two men who are fighting for some magic gifts, a cup, a staff, and a pair of shoes; he cheats them into running a race, steps into the shoes himself, and flies up into the clouds with the cup and staff. With the same adroitness Siegfried among the dwarfs manages the division of their hoard, upon which lies the wishing-rod (p. 457); and our nursery tales are full of such divisions (Altd. bl. 1, 297. KM. ed. 5, no. 193.

2, 502. Bechstein's Märchen p. 75). The same trick decides the quarrel in Asbiörnsen, no. 9, p. 59, and in the Hungarian tale, Gaal p. 166.

Now whence can these details have been imported into the homespun fairy-tale? Every country has them at its fingers' ends. To take another striking instance: the story of the three cousins (p. 415) who had spun till the nose of one grew long, another's eyes red, and another's fingers thick, is told still more vividly in Norway (Asb. and Moe, no. 13), and most vividly in Scotland (Chambers, p. 54-5). Or the changeling's unfailing formula (pp. 469. 927), was that conveyed from Denmark to Scotland, from Ireland to Hesse? Was the legend of the willow that has never heard a cock crow (p. 1243) handed over by the Romans to the Poles; and the myth of the thunder-bolt by the Greek to the Slav, by the Slav to the German? Did a little bird always pick up the legendary seed, and lug it over hill and dale to other lands? I believe Myth to be the common property of many lands, that all its ways are not yet known, but that it is properest to that nation with whose gods it closely coalesces, as a word common to several languages may best be claimed by that one which can explain its root. The legend of Tell relates no real event, yet, without fabrication or lying, as a genuine myth it has shot up anew in the bosom of Switzerland, to embellish a transaction that took hold of the nation's inmost being.

I do not deny for a moment, that beside this mysterious diffusion of myths there has also been borrowing from without, nay, that they could be purposely invented or imported, though it is a harder matter than one would imagine for this last sort to take root among the people. Roman literature has from early times spread itself over other European lands, and in certain cases it may be quite impossible to strike the balance between its influence and that inner growth of legend. And nowhere is extrinsic influence less a matter of doubt than where, by the collision of christian doctrine with heathenism among the converted nations, it became unavoidable to abjure the old, and in its place to adopt or adapt what the new faith introduced or tolerated.

Oftentimes the Church—and I have specified sundry instances—either was from the outset, or gradually became, tolerant and indulgent. She prudently permitted, or could not prevent, that heathen and christian things should here and there run into one another; the clergy themselves would not always succeed in marking off the bounds of the two religions; their private leanings might let some things pass, which they found firmly rooted in the multitude. In the language, together with a stock of newly imported Greek and Latin terms, there still remained, even for ecclesiastical use, a number of Teutonic words previously employed in heathen services, just as the names of gods stood ineradicable in the days of the week; to such words old customs would still cling, silent and unnoticed, and take a new lease of life. The festivals of a people present a tough material, they are so closely bound up with its habits of life, that they will put up with foreign additions, if only to save a fragment of festivities long loved and tried. In this way Scandinavia, probably the Goths also for a time, and the Anglo-Saxons down to a late period, retained the heathenish Yule, as all Teutonic Christians did the sanctity of Eastertide; and from these two the Yule-boar and Yule-bread, the Easter pancake, Easter sword, Easter fire and Easter dance could not be separated. As faithfully were perpetuated the name and in many cases the observances of Midsummer. New christian feasts, especially of saints, seem purposely as well as accidentally to have been made to fall on heathen holidays. Churches often rose precisely where a heathen god or his sacred tree had been pulled down, and the people trod their old paths to the accustomed site: sometimes the very walls of the heathen temple became those of the church, and cases occur in which idol-images still found a place in a wall of the porch, or were set up outside the door, as at Bamberg cathedral there lie Slavic-heathen figures of animals inscribed with runes. Sacred hills and fountains were re-christened after saints, to whom their sanctity was transferred; sacred woods were handed over to the newly-founded convent or the king, and even under private ownership did not altogether lose their long-accustomed homage. Law-usages, particularly the ordeals and oath-takings, but also the beating of bounds, consecrations, image-processions, spells and formulas, while retaining their heathen character, were simply clothed in christian forms. In some customs there was little to change: the heathen practice of sprinkling a newborn babe with water (vatni ausa p. 592, dicare p. 108, line 5) closely resembled christian baptism, the sign of the hammer that of the cross, and the erection of tree-crosses the irmensûls and world-trees of paganism. Still more significant must appear that passage where Völuspâ and the Bible coincide (p. 811); in the far later Sôlar-lioð traces of christian teaching are discernible.

In a conflux of so many elements it could not but happen, even where the mental conceptions and views of a simple populace unable to do without myths had felt the full force of the revolution, that in its turn the Old, not wholly extinct, should half unconsciously get interwoven with the irrepressible New. Jewish and christian doctrine began to lean towards heathen, heathen fancies and superstitions to push forward and, as it were, take refuge in all the places they found unoccupied by the new religion. Here we find christian material in a heathen form, there heathen matter in a christian disguise.

As the goddess Ostara was converted into a notion of time, so was Hellia into one of place. The beliefs of our forefathers about elves and giants got intensified and expanded into angels and devils, but the legends remained the same. Wuotan, Donar, Zio, Phol put on the nature of malignant diabolic beings, and the story of their solemn yearly visitation shaped itself into that of a wild rabble rout, which the people now shunned with horror, as formerly they had thronged to those processions.

Veiled under the biblical names of Cain, Elias, Enoch, Antichrist, Herodias, there come into view the same old myths about moon-spots, giants' buildings, a god of thunder and of storm, the gracious (holde) night-dame and the burning of the world. And what arrests our attention still more is, that to the Virgin Mary we apply a whole host of charming legends about Holda and Frouwa, norns and valkyrs, as the Romans did those about Venus, Juno and the parcae; nay, in the fairy-tale, dame Holle and Mary can usurp the place of gray-hatted Wuotan. What a tender fragrance breathes in those tales of Mary, and what has any other poetry to put by the side of them? To the kindly heathen traits is superadded for us that sense of superior sanctity which encompasses this Lady. Herbs and flowers are named after Mary, her images are carried about, and, quite in accordance with the heathen worship, installed on forest trees. She is a divine mother, she is a spinning-wife, she appears as maid of mercy (vierge secourable) to whosoever calls upon her. To the country folk in Italy, Mary stands well in the foreground of their religion; the Madonnas of several churches in Naples are looked upon as so many different divine beings, and even as rivals, and a Santa Venere by their side gives no offence. Three Marys together (p. 416, note) resemble the three norns and three fays; Mary carries stones and earth in her apron (p. 537) like Athena or the fay. The worship of Mary altogether, being neither founded on Scripture nor recognised by the first centuries, can only be explained by the fact of those pretty and harmless but heathen fancies having taken such deep root in the people that the Church also gradually combined with them a more daintily devised and statelier devotion (attentio) which we find woven into numerous legends and sermons.

But Mary does not stand alone by a long way. Immediately at her side there has grown up in the Catholic and Greek churches an interminable adoration of Saints, to make up for heathen gods of the second or third rank, for heroes and wise-women, and to fill the heart by bridging the gulf between it and pure Deity. Dogma may distinguish between Deity and intercessors; but how many a pious lip, moving in prayer before the sacred image, must be unaware of this distinction, or forget it! And further, among the saints themselves there are various grades, and the particular troubles under which they can be of service are parcelled out among them like so many offices and lines of business, so that almost every disease and its remedy are called by the name of their saint; this division of tasks has the strongest analogy to the directions given in Norse and Lithuanian mythology for the invocation of the several deities (p. 335). The victorious hero who had slain the dragon made room for Michael or George; and the too pagan Siegberg (p. 198), which may have meant the same as Eresberg (p. 201), was handed over to Michael, as the mons Martis in France was turned into a mons martyrum, Montmartre. It is remarkable that the Ossets have converted the dies Martis into Georgeday, and dies Veneris into Mary's day (Pott 1, 105. 2, 802). The places of Oðinn and of Freyja in minni-drinking are taken by John and by Gertrude, a saint who in other ways also has changed places with the goddess (pp. 61. 305. 673); but we can easily see why the heathen counterpart to a saint's legend is oftener to be found in the Roman than in our German mythology. The Church in her saints and canonizations had not the wit to keep within bounds, and the disproportion comes out most glaringly in the fact that the acts and miracles of the Saviour and his apostles are in some cases outdone by those of the saints. Whoever would push these investigations further, as they deserve to be pushed, will have to take particular notice, what saints are the first to emerge in the popular faith of any country, and which of them in poems and in forms of benediction have gradually slipt into the places of the old gods.

Here let me illustrate the more or less thorough interpenetration and commingling of Christian and heathen legend by two examples, which seem to me peculiarly important.

It must be regarded as one of the original possessions common to our mythologies, that the God, or two gods, or three, descend from heaven to earth, whether to prove men's works and ways (p. 337), or in search of adventures. This does violence to the christian belief in God's omnipresence and omniscience; but it is a very pleasing fancy, that of the gods in person walking the earth unrecognised, and dropping in at the houses of mortals. Even the Odyssey 17, 485-7 alludes to such wanderings, in which is found the loftiest consecration of hospitality: a man will be loth to turn away a stranger, under whose guise a celestial god may be visiting him. A Greek myth with details appears in the story of Orion: three gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes (some say Zeus, Ares, Hermes = Donar, Zio, Wuotan) take lodging with Hyrieus, and after being feasted, give him leave to ask a favour; he wishes for a son, and they create him one much in the same way as Kvâsir was engendered (p. 902, conf. 1025n.). Ovid's Fasti 5, 495—535. Hyginus 195 relates the same fable of the Thracian Byrseus. In the beautiful legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid's Met. 8, 626—721), Jupiter and Mercury are travelling, and reward their kind entertainers by saving them from the impending deluge (p. 580); a fable of Phaedrus makes the divine messenger alone, the god of roads and highways, pass the night with mortals (Mercurium, hospitio mulieres olim duae illiberali et sordido receperant). But Demeter also is at times represented as travelling and associating with men, as would be natural for all mothers of gods; Aesop in Fab. 54 makes Demeter travel with a swallow and an eel, but when they came to a river the bird flew up, the fish slipt into the water, and what did Demeter do?. With the Indians it is principally Brahma and Vishnu that visit the earth. In a Lithuanian legend Perkunos walks the earth at the time when beasts yet spoke; he first met the horse, and asked his way. 'I have no time to shew thee the way, I have to eat.' Hard by was an ox grazing who had heard the traveller's request: 'Come, stranger,' he cried, 'I will shew thee the way to the river.' Then said the god to the horse: 'As thou couldst not for eating find time to do me a turn of kindness, thou shalt for a punishment be never satisfied;' then to the ox: 'Thou good-natured beast shalt conveniently appease thy hunger, and after chew the cud at thine ease, for thou wert ready to serve me.' This myth likewise inculcates kindness to the stranger, and for Perkunos subsequent narrators could without scruple substitute the Saviour. In the Edda it is always Oðinn, Loki and Hœnir that go on journeys together, the same three Ases that also co-operate in creating (p. 560), for Loðr and Loki are apparently one (p. 241), and in this connexion Loki has nothing base or bad about him. Hœnir is called in Sn. 106 sessi, sinni, mâli Oðins (sodalis, comes, collocutor Odini). These three Ases set out on a journey, and at night seek a lodging; in the stories preserved to us no mention is made of a trial of hospitality. In a later saga Oðinn with Loki and Hœnir rides to the chase (Müller's Sagabibl. 1, 364); and a remarkable lay of the Faröe Isles (Lyngbye pp. 500 seq.) presents the same three, Ouvin, Höner and Lokkji, not indeed as travelling, but as succouring gods, who when called upon immediately appear, and one after the other deliver a boy whom giant Skrujmsli is pursuing, by hiding him, quite in fairy-tale fashion, in an ear of barley, a swan's feather, and a fish's egg. There were doubtless many more stories like this, such as the Norwegian tale in Asbiörn. no. 21, conf. p. 423. As bearing upon their subsequent transference, it must not be overlooked that in Fornm. sög. 9, 56. 175 Oðinn on horseback calls one evening at a blacksmith's, and has his horse shod; his identity with Hermes becomes quite startling in these myths. At other times however it is Thôrr with his heavy hammer (p. 180) that seeks a lodging, like Zeus, and when he stays the night at the peasant's, Loki accompanies Thôrr (Sn. 49); then again Heimdallr, calling himself Rîgr, traverses the world, and founds the families of man. The Finnish legend makes Wäinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Lemminkainen travel (rune 23), quite on a par with Oðinn, Loki, and Hœnir.

If now we look from these heathen myths to those in a christian dress and of a later time, the connexion between them can be no enigma: that of Perkunos changing into the Saviour has already set us the key. Either Christ and Peter journey out together, or one of the two alone; the fable itself turns about in more than one direction. Antique above all sounds the visit of these godlike beings, like that of Oðinn, to the blacksmith, and here the rewarding of hospitality is not left out. In the Norw.

tale no. 21, the Saviour, after he has far surpassed his host in feats of skill, yet places three wishes at his disposal, the very same that were allowed the smith of Jüterbok: compare also Kinderm. no. 147, the Netherl. story of Smeke in Wolf's Wodana p. 54 seq., and H. Sachs iv. 3, 70. But in Kinderm. 82, though the player, like the smith, asks for the tree from which one cannot get down, the main point with him is the dice, and the bestowal of them cannot but remind us of Wuotan the inventor of dice (p. 150. 1007), and again of Mercury. In H. Sachs ii. 4, 114 it is only Peter that bestows the wishing-die on a landsknecht at work in the garden. But the Fabliau St. Pierre et le jongleur (Méon 3, 282) relates how the juggler fared after death in hell; though nothing is said of travelling or gift-giving, yet Peter coming down from heaven in a black beard and smug moustaches and with a set of dice, to win from the showman the souls entrusted to his keeping, has altogether the appearance of Wuotan, who is eager, we know, to gather souls into his dwelling; and that tailor who hurled the leg of a chair out of heaven (p. 136) had been admitted by Peter. Then another group of legends betrays a new feature, full of significance to us. The Saviour and Peter are travelling together, Peter has to dress the dinner, and he bites a leg off the roast chicken (Wolf's Wodana, p. 180); in the Latin poem of Heriger, belonging to the tenth century, Peter is called in so many words head-cook of heaven, and a droll fellow secretly eats a piece of lung off the roast, as in Märchen no. 81 brother Lustig, travelling with Peter, steals the heart of the roast lamb, and elsewhere the landsknecht or the Swabian steals the liver. This seems to be all the same myth, for the circumstance that Peter plays by turns the culprit and the god whose attendant is in fault, may itself be of very old date: even the heathen stories may have made Oðinn and Loki change places. Loki is all the more a cook, a roast-stealer, and therefore on a line with Peter, as even the Edda imputes to him the eating of a heart (the suspected passage in Sæm. 118^{b} I emend thus: 'Loki ât hiarta lundi brenda, fann hann hâlfsviðinn hugstein konu,' Lokius comedit cor in nemore assum, invenit semiustum mentis-lapidem mulieris), and in our ancient beast-fable the sly fox (Loki still) carries off the stag's heart half-roasted (Reinh. xlviii. lii).—Nor does this by any means exhaust the stock of such tales of travel. Hans Sachs 1, 492 made up a poem in 1557 (and Burc. Waldis 4, 95 before him in 1537) how Peter journeying with Christ wished in the pride of his heart to rule the world, and could not so much as manage the goat which the Lord had given into his hands for one day; again 1, 493 how they arrived at a parting of the roads, and asked their way of a lazy workman lying in the shade of a peartree, who gave them a gruff answer; then they came upon a maidservant, who was toiling in the sweat of her brow, but, on being asked, immediately laid her sickle down, and saw the Lord into the right road: 'be this maid,' said the Saviour to Peter, 'assigned to none other but that man,' (in Agricola, Spr. 354, the maid is idle and the man industrious). This recalls not only Perkunos with the horse and ox, but the norns or fays passing through the land in the legend quoted on p. 409. Old French poems give the part of short-sighted Peter to the hermit who escorts an angel through the world (Méon, Nouv. rec. 2, 116, and pref. to tome 1); from Mielcke's Lith. sprachl. p. 167 I learn that the same version prevails in Samogitia, and the Gesta Romanor. cap. 80 tell of the angelus et eremita. As the gods lodged with Philemon and Baucis, so does a dwarf travelling in the Grindelwald with some poor but hospitable folk, and protects their little house from the flood (DS. no. 45); in Kinderm. 87 God Almighty lodges with the poor man, and allows him three wishes; to Rügen comes the old beggar-man (= Wuotan), gets a night's lodging from a poor woman, and on leaving in the morning lets her dabble in the wishing business, which turns out ill for the envious neighbour. Thiele (Danmarks folkesagn 2, 306) finds the very same myth in Fünen, and here the traveller is Peter again: the Norwegian tale makes the Lord God and Peter come to dame Gertrude and turn the stingy thing into a bird (p. 673). There is a popular joke about Christ and Peter being on a journey, and the Saviour creating the first Bohemian; and a Netherl. tale

(Wodana p. xxxvii) about their putting up at an ogre's house in a wood, and being concealed by his compassionate wife, an incident that occurs in many other tales.

Afzelius (Sagohäfder 3, 155), while he proves the existence of these legends of Christ and Peter in Sweden also, is certainly wrong in pronouncing them mere fabricated drolleries, not founded on popular belief. They are as firmly grounded as anything can be on primitive traditions, and prove with what fidelity the people's memory has cared for our mythology, while MHG. poets despise these fables which they could have sung so admirably, just as they leave on one side dame Berhte and Holde and in general what is of home growth. Yet a couple of allusions may prove, if proof it needs, that this dressing up of the old myth was in vogue as early as the 13th century: Rumelant (Amgb. 12^a) relates of Christ and Peter, how they came to a deep rivulet into which a man had fallen, who was doing nothing to help himself; and a nameless poet (Mone's Anz. 5, 192) tells of a woodcutter whom Peter was trying to hoist into heaven by his mallet, but when on the topmost rung, the mallet's handle came off, and the poor man dropt into hell. The pikeman or blacksmith in the fairy-tale got on better by flinging his knapsack or apron (sledgehammer in Asbiörnsen p. 136 is still more archaic) into heaven. Of course these wanderings of the Saviour and one of his disciples have something in common with the journeys of Jesus and his apostles in Judea, the dwarf visitor might be compared to the angels who announced God's mercies and judgments to Abraham and Lot, as Philemon and Baucis have a certain resemblance to Abraham and Sarah; but the harmony with heathen legend is incomparably fuller and stronger. The angels were simply messengers; our mythology, like the Greek and Indian, means here an actual avatâra of Deity itself.

Another example, of smaller compass, but equally instructive as to the mingling of christian with heathen ideas, may be drawn from the old legend of Fruoto. The blissful birth of the Saviour, the new era beginning with him, were employed in drawing pictures of a golden age (p. 695. 793 n.) and the state of happiness and peace inseparable from it. The Roman Augustus, under whom Christ was born, closed the temple of Janus, and peace is supposed to have reigned all over the earth. Now the Norse tradition makes its mythic Frôði likewise contemporary with Augustus, Frôði whose reign is marked by peace and blessedness, who made captive giantesses grind heaps of gold for him (p. 531. 871), and had bracelets deposited on the public highway without any one laying hands on them. The poets call gold 'miöl Frôða,' Fruoto's meal (Sn. 146), to explain which phrase the poem Grǫttasaungr is inserted in the Edda; and in Sæm. 151ª occurs: 'sleit Frôða frið fianda â milli.' Rymbegla says, in his time the fields bore crops without being sown (it is the blessed Sampo-period of the Finns), and metal was found everywhere in the ground; nature joined in extolling the prince, as she does in lamenting his death (p. 591). When Helgi was born, eagles uttered a cry, and holy waters streamed down from the hills of heaven (Sæm. 149ª); in the year of Hâkon's election the birds, we are told, bred twice, and twice the trees bore, about which the Hâk. Hâkonarsaga cap. 24 has some beautiful songs. Hartmann, a monk of St. Gall, sings on the entry of the king: 'Haec ipsa gaudent tempora, floreque verno germinant, adventus omni gaudio quando venit optatior.' So deep a feeling had the olden time for a beloved king. And Beda 2, 16 thus describes king Eádwine's time: 'Tanta eo tempore pax in Britannia fuisse perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in proverbio dicitur, etiamsi mulier una cum recens nato parvulo vellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se laedente valeret. Tantum rex idem utilitati suae gentis consuluit, ut plerisque in locis, ubi fontes lucidos juxta publicos viarum transitus construxit, ibi ob refrigerium viantium erectis stipitibus aereos caucos suspendi juberet, neque hos quisquam nisi ad usum necessarium contingere prae magnitudine vel timoris ejus auderet vel amoris vellet.' And of several other kings the tale is told, that they exposed precious jewels on the public road. Mildness and justice were the highest virtues of rulers, and 'mild' signified both mitis and largus, munificus. Frôði was called the fêmildi (bountiful); 'frôði' itself includes the notion of sagacity. When the genealogies and legends make several kings of that name follow one another, they all evidently mean the same (conf. p. 348). Saxo Gramm. 27 makes his first Frotho sprinkle ground gold on his food, which is unmistakably that 'Frôða miöl' of Snorri; the second is called 'frœkni,' vegetus; it is not till the reign of the third, who fastens a gold bracelet on the road, that the Saviour is born (p. 95).

But this myth of the mild king of peace must formerly have been known outside of Scandinavia, namely, here in Germany, and in Britain too. For one thing, our chroniclers and poets, when they mention the Saviour's birth, break out, like Snorri and Saxo, in praises of a peaceful Augustan age; thus Godfrey of Viterbo p. 250:

> Fit gladius vomer, fiunt de cuspide falces,
> Mars siluit, pax emicuit, miles fuit auceps;
> nascentis Christi tempore pax rediit.

Wernher's Maria, p. 160:

Dô wart ein chreftiger fride,	Then befel a mighty peace,
diu swert versluogen die smide,	smiths converted their swords,
bediu spieze und sper;	both pikes and spears;
dô ne was dehein her	then was there no army
daz iender des gedæhte	that anywhere thought
daz ez strite oder væhte,	of striving and fighting,
dô ne was niht urliuge	then was no war
bî des meres piuge,	by the sea's margin,
noch enhein nîtgeschelle.	nor any sound of hate.
Mit grôzer ebenhelle	In great unison
und harte fridlîche	and right peacefully
stuonden elliu rîche.	stood all kingdoms.

And p. 193 : Aller fride meiste
mit des keisers volleiste
der wart erhaben und gesworn
dô Christ was geborn.

Compare En. 13205—13, and Albrecht of Halberstadt's Prologue, which also says that Augustus

> machte sô getânen fride (perfect peace)
> daz man diu swert begunde smide
> in segense (scythes), und werken hiez
> zuo den sicheln den spiez.

It is true, none of these passages make any reference to Fruoto; but how could the 'milte Fruote von Tenemarke' have got so firm a footing in our heroic lays of Gudrun and the Rabenschlacht, and in the memory of our Court-poets (MS. 2, 221ᵇ, 227ᵇ, Conr. Engelhart, and Helbl. 2, 1303. 7, 366. 13, 111) without some express legend to rest upon? This I had a presentiment of on p. 532 from our proper names Fanigolt, Manigolt (fen-gold, bracelet-gold); conf. Haupt's pref. to Engelh. p. x. And what is more, the Austrian weisthümer (3, 687. 712) require by way of fine a shield full of ground gold; and filling shields with gold meant being liberal. The folk-song in Uhland 1, 76-7 makes the mill grind gold and love. How else to explain gold-grinding and gold-meal I cannot divine.

I could multiply such examples; I could also, if the task were not reserved for others or another occasion, shew in detail that the same mythic basis, which must be assumed for our own heroic lays, was not foreign either to the Carolingian poetry, the product mainly of a German tribe, or even to the British. Arthur belongs to the 'wild host' and the 'heaven's wain,' Morgana coincides with norns and elfins. A great deal nearer still stands Charles with his heroes: he is the Long-beard that sleeps in the mountain and rides on the Karl-wain, his Karl-stone is the same as the Woden-stone (p. 155), Roland stands on the pillar, Froberge reminded us of Frô (p. 216), and Galans, who plies the forge for these Frankish heroes, is Wayland, Wielant, Völundr. Berthe with the foot, progenitress of Charles, is our Berhta (p. 429); and, attached to her, stand Flore and Blanchefleur with their elvish names (p. 1063). Charles's loved one was an elfin (p. 435), Auberon is Elberich and elf-king; and

Maugis, Malagis=Madalgis, borders on the elvish. Charles's hall resembles that of Asgard (p. 1133n.).

If these investigations have not been a sheer waste of time (and to me it seemed worth the trouble to look into the affairs of our antiquity from all sides), I may now at length attempt an answer to questions, or some of them at least, as to what is the true fundamental character of Teutonic mythology.

Judged by the standard of those mythologies that completed their career from beginning to end, notably the Greek (with which nevertheless it has so many important features in common), it will bear no comparison, if only for the reason that it was interrupted early, before it had produced all that it could have produced. As to our language and poetry, they were sensibly disturbed and hindered too, but they lived on, and could acquire a new impetus; the heathen faith was cut down to the root, and its poor remains could only save themselves by stealth under a new guise. Crude, unkempt it cannot but appear, yet the crude has its simplicity, and the rough its sincerity.

In our heathen mythology certain ideas stand out strong and clear, of which the human heart especially has need, by which it is sustained and cheered. To it the highest god is a father (p. 22), a good father, gofar (p. 167), gaffer, grandfather, who grants salvation and victory to the living, and to the dead an entrance to his dwelling. Death is a going home, a return to the father (p. 839). By the side of the god stands the highest goddess as a mother (p. 22), gammer, grandmother, wise and white ancestress. The god is exalted, the goddess beaming with beauty; both go their rounds and appear in the land, he instructing in war and weapons, she in spinning, weaving, sowing of seed; from him comes the poem, from her the tale. The same paternal authority is deeply stamped on our ancient law, the father taking the newborn son on his lap and acknowledging him; but what we read in some only of our ancient codes, may have been the rule everywhere, namely, that the composition paid to women was originally a higher, a double one. The German reverence for woman was already known to Tacitus (p. 397), and history vouches for it in the Mid. Ages: in the heroic lays a greater stress is laid on Mother Uote than on the father of the heroes, as Brunhild towers even above Siegfried (see Suppl.). By the side of the beautiful description of mother's love in the Vita Mahthildis (Pertz 6, 298) we can put this touch by Rudlieb 1, 52 : 'Ast per cancellos post hunc pascebat ocellos Mater,' as her son was departing. Whenever in dry old Otfried I come to the lines iv. 32 : wir sîn gibot ouh wirkên, inti bî unsa muater thenkên (we his bidding also do, and of our mother think), it moves me to melancholy, I don't know whether he meant the church, or her that bore him, I think of my own dear mother (Dorothea Grimm, b. 20 Nov. 1755, d. 27 May 1808). Another thing also we learn from the oldest history of our people, that modesty and virtue had never fled from the land; beside Tacitus, we may rely on Salvian (5th cent.) as the most unimpeachable of witnesses. Refined grace might be wanting, nay, it has often retired before us, and been washed out of remembrance; to the Greeks Apollo, Pallas, Aphrodite stood nearer, their life was brighter like their sky. Yet Frô and Frouwa appear altogether as kind and loving deities, in Wuotan I have produced the god of song, and as Wish he may have been a god of longing and love. However many blossoms of our old mythology and poetry may lie undisclosed and withered, one thing will not escape the eye of a judge, that our poesy still has virgin forms and unlaboured adornment at her command, which, like certain plants, have disappeared from hotter climes.

When the plastic and poetic arts have sprung out of a people's faith, they adorn and protect it by imperishable works; yet another fact must not be overlooked, that both poets and artists insensibly deviate from the sanctity of the old type, and adopt an independent treatment of sacred subjects, which, ingenious as it may be, mars the continuity of tradition. The tragedians will alter for their own ends what epic had handed down entire; the sculptors, striving after naked forms of beauty, will, in favour of it, sacrifice if need be the significant symbol; as they can neither bring in all the features of the myth, nor yet find the whole of them sufficient, they must omit some things and add others. Sculpture and the drama aim at making the gods more conceivable to the mind, more human; and every religion that is left free to unfold itself will constantly fall back upon man and the deepest thoughts he is capable of, to draw from them a new interpretation of the revealed. As in statues the rigid attitude unbent itself and the stiff folds dropt away, so devotion too in her converse with deity will not be needlessly shackled. In the same way language, even in the hands of poets, declines from the sensuous perfection of poetry to the rational independence of prose.

The grossness that I spoke of would have disappeared from the heathen faith had it lasted longer, though much of the ruggedness would have remained, as there is in our language something rough-hewn and unpolished, which does not unfit it for all purposes, and qualifies it for some. There goes with the German character a thoughtful earnestness, that leads it away from vanity and brings it on the track of the sublime. This was noticed even by Tacitus, whose words, though discussed in the book (p. 70-1, 104-5), will bear repeating: 'Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.' This is no empty phrase, this 'arbitrantur' and 'appellant' must have come of inquiries, which a Roman, if he wished to understand anything of the Germani, had first of all to set a-going. That is how it actually was in Germany at that time, such answer had German men given, when asked about the temples and images of their gods. Temples are first built to hold statues: so long as these were not, neither were those. Anything mentioned in later centuries, or occurring by way of exception among particular tribes, seems to have been corruption and confusion, to which there was no want of prompting. All the Scandinavian temples and idols fall into this later time, or they have their reason in the difference of race.

That notable piece of insight shows us the whole germ of Protestantism. It was no accident, but a necessity, that the Reformation arose first in our country, and we should long ago have given it our undivided allegiance, had not a stir been made against it from abroad. It is remarkable how the same soil of Old-German faith in Scandinavia and Britain proved receptive of Protestant opinion; and how favourable to it a great part of France was, where German blood still held its ground. As in language and myth, so in the religious leanings of a people there is something indestructible.

Gods, *i.e.* a multiplication of the one supreme incomprehensible Deity, could only be conceived of by Germans as by others under a human form (p. 316), and celestial abodes like earthly houses are ascribed to them. But here comes a difference, in this reluctance to exhibit the immeasurable (that magnitudo coelestium) in visible images, and confine it between earthly walls. To make a real portrait of Deity is clean impossible, therefore such images are already prohibited in the Old Test. decalogue; Ulphilas renders *εἴδωλον* by galiug or galiuga-guð (lie-god), meaning that any representation of a god was a lie; and the first christian centuries abhorred image-worship, though it gradually found its way into the church again. The statues of Greek gods, we know, proceeded originally from a sacred type, which only by degrees became more secular; the paintings of the Mid. Ages, and even Raphael's great soul-stirring compositions, for want of such a type, were obliged to invent their figures, the legend from which artists chiefly drew their subjects being already song or story; accordingly these pictures stand lower than the works of Greek art, and the spirit of Protestantism insists on their being bundled out of the churches. But if our heathen gods were imagined sitting on mountains and in sacred groves, then our medieval churches soaring skyward as lofty trees, whose sublime effect is unapproached by any Greek pediments and pillars, may fairly be referable to that Old

German way of thinking. Irmansûl and Yggdrasill were sacred trees, rearing their heads into the breezes: the tree is the steed (drasill, the snorter) on which Wuotan, the bodeful thrill of nature, stormfully careers: Yggr signifies shudder, thrill of terror (p. 120, and Suppl.). By the Old German forest-worship I also explain the small number of the priests, who only begin to multiply in temples entrusted to their charge.

Of all forms of belief, the Monotheistic is at once the most agreeable to reason and the most honouring to Deity. It also seems to be the original form, out of whose lap to a childlike antiquity Polytheism easily unfolded itself, by the loftiest attributes of the one God being conceived first as a trilogy, then as a dodecalogy. This arrangement comes out in all the mythologies, and especially clear, I think, in ours: almost all the gods appear unequal in rank and power, now superior, now subordinate, so that, mutually dependent, they must all at last be taken as emanations of a highest and only One. What is offensive in polytheism is thereby diminished (p. 176). For even in the heathen breast a consciousness of such subordination could hardly be quite extinct, and the slumbering faith in a highest god might wake up any moment.

To point out these groups of deities from our half dried-up sources was beyond my power, but the threes and twelves of the Edda are indicated, p. 335. The Greeks however differ in having only one twelve, consisting of six gods and six goddesses, while of the âses and âsynjas there are twelve each, making together twice as many deities as the Greek. Twelve chairs are set for the gods sitting in council (p. 858). Sometimes the highest god has twelve inferiors added to him, which raises the total by one: Loki is called the thirteenth among the gods, and Gnâ among the goddesses. Snorri 211^b names thirteen âses, and even more âsynjas. These triads and twelves of the gods are reflected again in the heroes and wise-women: Mannus begot three sons, heads of races (p. 345. 395), Heimdall founded three orders, the Ynglînga saga 2, 7 calls Oðin's fellow-gods his twelve princes (höfdîngjar); Westmar has twelve sons (Saxo

Gram. p. 68); there were thirteen valkyrs (p. 421), and three norns. In Welf's retinue are twelve heroes (p. 395); king Charles's twelve might indeed be traced to the twelve apostles, and the poem itself points to that, but the same thing is found in numberless myths and legends. The might of the godlike king flashes forth yet again in his heroes.

To my thinking, Polytheism almost everywhere arose in innocent unconsciousness: there is about it something soft and agreeable to the feelings; but it will, when the intellect is roused, revert to the Monotheism from which it started. No one taunts the Catholic doctrine with teaching many gods, yet one can see in what respect Catholics stand in the same relation to heathens as Protestants do to Catholics. Heathenism bowed before the power of pure Christianity; in course of time heathenish movements broke out in the church afresh, and from these the Reformation strove to purify it. The polytheistic principle, still working on, had fastened on two points mainly, the worship of saints, of which I have spoken, and that of relics (conf. GDS. p. 149). A stifling smell of the grave pervades the medieval churches and chapels from an adoring of dead bones, whose genuineness and miraculous power seem rarely well attested, and sometimes quite impossible. The weightiest affairs of life, oath-takings, illnesses, required a touching of these sanctities, and all historical documents bear witness to their widely extended use, a use justified by nothing in the Bible, and alien to primitive Christianity (conf. p. 1179). But in idololatria and saint-worship the dominion of the priesthood found its main stay.

Of Dualism proper I have acquitted our heathenism (pp. 895-6. 984). Unlike Polytheism, it seems to me to take its rise, not in gradual corruption, but in conscious, perhaps moral, reflexion, and at a later time. Polytheism is tolerant and friendly; he to whom all he looks at is either heaven or hell, God or devil, will both extravagantly love and heartily hate. But here again let me repeat, that to the heathen Germans the good outweighed the bad, and courage faintheartedness: at death they laughed.

Between deifying much and deifying all, it is hard to draw the line, for even the most arrant Pantheism will admit some exceptions. The limit observed by the Greek and even the Norse religion appears in those sets of twelve; Personification indeed, on which I have inserted a chapter, seems to dip into the domain of Pantheism; yet when elements and implements are thought of as divine, they scarcely mean more than our old acquaintances, the gods, presented in a new form: the air melts into Wuotan, the hammer into Donar, the sword into Eor, and Sælde (fortune) into Wuotan again. The human mind strives to conceive the unfathomable depth of Deity in new and ever new ways. Some would give our heathenism Fetishism for a foundation (p. 104); the truth is, hammer, spear, flint and phallus were but symbols of the divine force, of which there were other types, both material and moral, equally valid. From thing to person, or from person to thing, was in this matter but a step. As the gods change into heroes and are born again, so they sink even into animals; but this precipitate of them would require certain explanations, which I mean to complete once for all in a new treatment of the Beast-fable. The faster the brood of deities multiplies, the sooner is faith likely to topple over into denial and abuse of the old gods; striking evidences of such atheistic sentiment Scandinavia itself supplies, both in undisguised mockery, and in reposing confidence in one's own strength and virtue (p. 6). The former is expressed in O. Norse by goðgâ (irrisio deorum), O.H. Germ. kotscelta (blasphemia). And this revolt of heathens against heathenism increased as Christianity came nearer: thus the Nialssaga cap. 105 says of Hialti, that he was charged with scoffing at the gods, 'varð sekr â þîngi um goðgâ'; conf. Laxd. p. 180. Kristnisaga c. 9.

An element (στοιχεῖον, ὑπόστασις) is firm ground, basis, for which the Goth still has a good Teutonic name 'stabs' (=staff, whence the Romance stoffa, étoffe, and so our stuff again), or 'stôma' (whence our ungestüm, OHG. ungistuomi, unquiet). It meets the eye of man in all its glory, while deity remains unseen: how tempted he must feel to give it divine honours! But his senses and his mind link every exhibition of nature's forces with subjective impressions bodily and mental, the promptings of language teach him to connect. How came Zio to unite in himself the ideas of sky and war? The Gothic veihan meant pugnare, vaíhjô pugna, veihs sacer, veiha sacerdos (p. 68), the OHG. wîg pugna and Mars (p. 203); the hallowed, the holy was at the same time the bright, the beaming. To the Gothic hveits corresponds the Skr. svêtas (albus), to this the Slav. svety, sviatyi (sanctus), and svèt, swiat, svetlo signify mundus, coelum, lux. But again Svetovit, Swantowit, is Ares and bellum, and the parallelism of Wuotan, Donar, Zio to Radigast, Perun, Svetovit stands unquestionable: the god of victory shines in the battle. To the Indians Sûryas denotes the sun, light, day, and he resembles Zio; when Sûryas is taking hold of a victim, it bites his hand off, and a golden one has to be put on: is not this Tŷr, whose hand the wolf bit off (p. 207)? and who knows but the like was told of the Slavic Svetovit? It was beautiful to derive the eye from the sun, blood from water, the salt flow of tears from the bitter sea, and the more profound seem therefore the myths of Sif's hair, of Freyja's tears; earth and heaven reflect each other. But as even the ancient cosmogonies are inversions of each other (pp. 568. 570, man made of world, world made of man), we have no right to refer the heathen gods exclusively either to astrology and the calendar, or to elemental forces, or to moral considerations, but rather to a perpetual and unceasing interaction of them all. A pagan religion never dropt out of the clouds, it was carried on through countless ages by the tradition of nations, but in the end it must rest on a mysterious revelation which accords with the marvellous language and the creation and propagation of mankind. Our native heathenism seems not to have been oppressed by gloomy fancies about the misery of a fallen existence (like the Indian doctrine of emanation), it favoured a cheerful fatalism (p. 860-1), and believed in a paradise, a renovated world, deified heroes; its gods resemble more those of Greece, its superstition more that of Rome: 'tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.'

The question has been gravely asked, whether the heathen gods really existed; and I feel disgust at answering it. Those who believe in a veritable devil and a hell, who would burn a witch with a will, may feel inclined to affirm it, thinking to support the miracles of the church by the evidence of this other miracle, that in the false gods she had crushed actual fiends and fallen angels.

Having observed that her Language, Laws and Antiquities were greatly underrated, I was wishful to exalt my native land. To me one labour became the other: what was evidence there was also a confirmation here, what furnished a foundation here served there as a prop. Perhaps my books will have more influence in a quiet happy time which will come back some day; yet they ought to belong to the Present too, which I cannot think of without our Past reflecting its radiance upon it, and on which the Future will avenge any depreciation of the olden time. My gleanings I bequeath to him who, standing on my shoulders, shall hereafter get into full swing the harvesting of this great field.

JACOB GRIMM.

BERLIN, 28*th April,* 1844.

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CHAPTER XXX

POETRY.

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wrought out of *metal,* but wax made by the sacred bee (p. 696) appears the most appropriate; their manufacture is a mimicry of divine creation (p. 570), but it succeeds only up to a certain point. In Pulci's Morgante 21, 73 a witch possesses an image made of the pure wax of young bees (delle prime api), and having every limb except one rib:[1] the witch's own vitality is bound up with the figure, and when Malagigi melts it at a slow fire, she dwindles away. That such figures were sometimes baptized, is shewn by a sermon of Berthold's (Cod. pal. 35 fol. 27^b): 'so nimpt diu her und *tauft ein wachs,* diu ein holz, diu ein tôtenpein (dead man's bone), allez daz sie domit bezouber;'[2] and this proves the connexion of magical appliances with superstitious healing appliances. As the sick and the restored used to consecrate and hang up in churches an image or a limb of wax, so by images the witch maimed and killed. No doubt this kind of conjuring goes back to the oldest times; we find it in Ovid, Amor. iii. 7, 29:

Sagave punicea defixit nomina cera,
et medium tenues in jecur egit acus?

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and goeth and taketh his crossbow, and having bent it, will *shoot at the image.*' Then said the other, 'as thou lovest thy life, duck thee under the water when he shall shoot.' And the man did so. And again he read in the book, and spake 'behold, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is exceeding sorry, and my wife with him; the scholar-errant setteth to, and will shoot the second time, and goeth the half way toward.' 'Duck thee when he shall shoot.' And he ducked. Saith the other, 'look, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is sore troubled, and speaketh to the woman, If now I miss the third time, I am [a man] of death; and setteth to, and aimeth at the figure very near, that he may not miss.' Then spake he that read in the book, 'duck thee!' And the man ducked from the shot. And he said, 'look up, what seest thou?' 'I see that he hath missed, and *the arrow is gone into him,* and is dead, and my wife bestoweth him in the basement below.' Then said he, 'arise now, and go thy way.' And the man would have given him much, but he would take nothing, and said, 'pray God for me.' When the citizen was come home again, and his wife would have kindly received him, he would take no pity on her, but sent to bid her friends, and spake to them, what manner of wife they had given him, and shewed them everything, how she had borne herself. The woman steadfastly denied it; then led he the friends to the place where she had dug him in, and dug him out again. And the people took the woman, and burned her, the which was her just reward.—The story comes from the Gesta Rom. (ed. Keller cap. 102; transl. ed. Keller p. 160); but one ought to compare the fresh story from Finnish Lapland in Afzelius 1, 48.

[1] As the rib serves for further creation (p. 562), and for making miraculous apparatus (pp. 907. 1091), imperfect creation is destitute of it.

[2] Quidam (Judaeorum) ad similitudinem episcopi (Eberhardi Treverensis, in 11th cent.) *ceream imaginem* lycnis interpositam facientes, clericum ut eam *baptizaret* pecunia corruperunt, quam ipso sabbato accenderunt; qua jam ex parte media consumpta, episcopus coepit graviter infirmari, et obiit (Hist. Trev.).

Compare Horace, Epod. 17, 76: 'movere *cereas imagines.*' Theocritus 2, 28 has the *wax-melting* very plainly: *ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος*, but not that it was an image. In Virgil, Ecl. 8, 74 seq., a magic figure (terque haec altaria circum *effigiem* duco) seems to be made of *lime* and *wax* (see Suppl.).

An ancient custom, very similar to this of hanging up and thawing the atzmann, was to cut out the *earth* or *turf* on which had rested the foot of one whom you wish to destroy. This *erdschnitt* as Vintler calls it (Sup. G, l. 92) is hung in the chimney, and as it begins to wither or dry up, the man too shall waste away (I, 524. 556). It was already known to Burchard (C, p. 200^{a}). To fetch up a comrade from a foreign land, you *boil his stockings;* or you put his *shoes* in a new pot, and with it draw water *against the current,* then *boil the shoes* in the pot four days long; when they are past, he will come, says Hessian superstition (see Suppl.). You can lame a horse by driving a nail into his recent footprint, and discover a thief by putting tinder in his (I, 978). Pliny 28, 20 says: 'vestigium equi excussum ungula (ut solet plerumque) si quis collectum reponat, singultus remedium esse recordantibus quonam loco id reposuerint;' a cure for hiccough if you remember where you put it.

Our magicians have also, in common with those of Greece and Rome, the power of assuming an *animal shape* (in itself a divine attribute, p. 326): the men prefer changing into a wolf or hawk, the women into a cat or swan; to translate it into the language of our heathen time, they addict themselves to the service of Wuotan, of Frouwa. These metamorphoses are either voluntary or compulsory: the higher being in his might puts on the animal shape that suits him, or he dooms a man to wear it in punishment or vengeance. In the stories it is often a *mother-in-law* or *stepmother* that transforms children, ON. *stiupmôður sköp,* Fornald. sög. 1, 31. 58.

Herodotus 4, 105 says of the Neuri, that among Scythians and Greeks settled in Scythia they pass for magicians (*γόητες*), because once a year every Neurian *becomes a wolf* for a few days, and then resumes the human form (*ὡς ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τὠὐτὸ κατίσταται*). Similar accounts are in Pliny 8, 34. Pomp.

Mela 2, 1. Augustine Civ. Dei 18, 17: 'his ego saepe *lupum fieri* et se condere silvis Moerin . . . vidi,' Virg. Ecl. 8, 97. A man distinguished by this gift or malady was called λυκάνθρωπος,[1] a word-formation to which the AS. *werewulf* (Leges Canuti, Schmid 1, 148), Engl. *werewolf,* exactly corresponds; Goth. vairavulfs? OHG. werawolf? MHG. poets have no werewolf. The ON. uses *vargr* alone (RA. 733. Reinh. xxxvii), verûlfr in Sn. 214^{b} is a sword's name, the Swed. Dan. *varulf, varulv,* seem formed on a Romance or German model. I find *werwolf* first in Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198^{c}); though Boniface before him couples 'strigas et *fictos lupos* credere' (Serm., in Mart. et Dur. 9, 217). The Fr. *loup-garou* (*warou* in O. Fr. poems) might seem a distortion of warulf; garulf (Gervase of Tilb. writes *gerulphus*), but then the Breton dialect has also its *bleiz-garou, -garo* (fr. bleiz, wolf), and *den-vleiz,* man-wolf (fr. den, man), *grék-vleiz* (femme-loup); *bisclaveret* in Marie de France 1, 178 is apparently a corruption of *bleizgarv,* as the Norman *garwal* is of *guarwolf.* The Pol. *wilkołak, wilkołek,* Boh. *wlkodlak,* strictly means wolf-haired, and suggests the hairy wood-sprite, p. 480. The Serv. *vukodlac* signifies a vampire. From wilks (wolf) the Letton forms *wilkats* (werewolf), Wilkaścha radda ds. 1644.

Our oldest native notions make the assumption of wolf-shape depend on arraying oneself in a *wolf-belt* or *wolf-shirt* (ûlfa-hamr), as translation into a swan does on putting on the swan-shift or swan-ring (p. 427-8).[2] One who wears a wolf-belt, ûlfhamr, is called in OHG. *wolfhetan,* ON. *ûlfheðinn* (the ð repres. an orig. *d*); especially do raging berserkir become *ûlfheðnir*: 'þeir höfðu vargstakkar fyrir brynjur,' Vatnsdœla saga 36. 'berserkir þeir vâru kallaðir *ûlfhiedar* (r. ûlfheðnir),' Grettissaga 32^{a}. We also find a man's name *Ulfheðinn,* and OHG. *Wolfhetan,* MB. 28, nos.

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[1] Among the Æsopian Fables is a merry gest (Cor. 425. Fur. 423): A thief pretends to his host, that when he has *yawned three times*, he becomes a werewolf (ὅταν οὖν χασμηθῶ τρεῖς βολάς, γίνομαι λύκος ἐσθίων ἀνθρώπους); the timid host runs away, and the rogue gets possession of his garment. Petronius in Sat. 62 mentions a peculiar method of metamorphosis: 'ille *circumminxit* vestimenta sua, et subito *lupus* factus est; vestimenta lapidea facta sunt.' Conf. cap. 57: 'si circumminxero illum, nesciet qua fugiat.'

[2] The *girdle* was an essential article of dress, and early ages ascribe to it other magic influences: e.g. Thôr's divine strength lay in his girdle (megingiörð, fem.), Sn. 26.

52. 246. Apart from wolves, we have biarnheðinn, geitheðinn, i.e. dressed in a bearskin, goatskin; as a proper name, both *Biarnheðinn,* Landn. 45, and a simple *Heðinn,* ancestor of the *Hiaðnîngar,* AS. Heodeningas fr. Heden or Heoden. The vowel is therefore ë (not e), and we must suppose a lost verb OHG. hëtan, hat, pl. hâtum, Goth. hidan, had, hêdum. Lye quotes a '*heden,* casla,' meaning prob. casula, robe; and an ON. *geitheðinn* is supposed to be 'pallium e pelle caprina'; but I prefer to take Wolfhetan as a participle. We see then, that the transformation need not be for a magical purpose at all: any one that puts on, or is conjured into, a wolf-shirt, will undergo metamorphosis, remain a wolf nine days, and only on the tenth be allowed to return to human shape[1]; some stories make him keep the wolf-body for three, seven or nine years. With the appearance, he acquires also the fierceness and howling, of the wolf: roaming the woods, he rends to pieces everything that comes in his way.[2] Fornald. sög. 1, 50 speaks of a 'liosta með *ûlfhandska,*' striking with wolf's glove, by which a person is turned into a bear, and wears the animal form by day, the human at night. In a similar way the notion of werewolves also gets mixed up with that of outlaws who have fled to the woods. A notable instance is that of Sigmund and Sinfiötli (ibid. 2, 130–1): when they sleep, their wolf-shirts hang beside them.

Werewolves thirst for youthful blood, and carry off children and maidens with reckless audacity. Out of many stories in Woycicki 1, 101—113. 152—8 I select only this: A witch twisted her girdle together, and laid it on the threshold of a house where there was a wedding; when the newly married pair stepped over it, the bride, bridegroom and six bridesmen were turned into werewolves. They fled from the cottage, and for three years ran howling round the witch's house. At length the day of their deliverance came. The witch brought a pelisse with the fur turned outwards, and as soon as she covered a werewolf with it, his human shape returned; the covering reached over the bridegroom's body, all but the tail, so he became a man again, but kept the wolf's tail. Schafarik (Slow. st. 1, 167) observes, that in a very marked degree these wolf-stories are native to Volhynia and White Russia, and thence draws an argument for his opinion that the Neuri were a Slavic race.

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[1] It is also believed, that every ninth day the seal (selr) doffs his fishy skin, and is for one day a man (Thiele 3, 51). In medieval Germany the nine years' wolf was supposed to give birth to *adders,* Ms. 2, 234^b; to which may be compared Loki's begetting the wolf Fenrir and the snake Iörmungandr (p. 246), and that gandr again means wolf.

[2] A married couple lived in poverty; yet, to the man's astonishment, his wife contrived to serve up meat at every meal, concealing for a long time how she obtained it; at length she promised to reveal the secret, only, while she did so, he must not pronounce her name. They went together to the fields, where a flock of sheep was grazing, the woman bent her steps toward it, and when they were come near, she threw a *ring* over herself, and instantly became a *werewolf,* which fell upon the flock, seized one sheep, and made off with it. The man stood petrified; but when he saw shepherd and dogs run after the wolf, and his wife in danger, he forgot his promise, and cried 'ach Margareit!' The wolf disappeared, and the woman stood naked in the field (Hess. Folktale).

According to the French Lai de Melion pp. 49. 50, the man, when *undressed*,[1] must be touched with a *magic ring*: forthwith he turns into a wolf, and runs after game. Marie de Fr. 1, 182 makes a knight become a bisclaveret three days every week, and run about naked in the wood; if the clothes he has laid aside be removed, he has to remain a wolf.[2] Pluquet (Cont. pop. 15) remarks, that he can only be delivered by being beaten with a key till he bleeds.

The common belief among us is, that the transformation is effected by *tying a strap round the body;* this girth is only three fingers broad, and is cut out of human skin. Such a *werwolf* is to be distinguished from natural wolves by his truncated tail. From the witch-records of Lorrain we learn, that when stalks of grass were pulled up, blessed and thrown against a tree, wolves sprang forth, and immediately fell upon the flock; Remigius pp. 152. 162 leaves it doubtful whether the men that threw the grass themselves turned into wolves, but from p. 261 we can think no otherwise. Bodin's Dæmonomanie (Fischart's transl. p. 120 seq.) has several werewolf stories. Rhenish and Westphalian superstition makes men alone become wolves; maids and matrons change into an *ütterbock* (uddered buck, hermaphrodite ?) : an uncanny old hag is called 'the cursed *ütterbock*!' According to a peculiar Danish superstition (K, 167), if a bride uses a certain specified charm to secure painless labour, her sons become *vär-*

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[1] But he begs people to keep his clothes safe for him: 'ma despoille me gardez,' as in the Aesopian fable: *δέομαί σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὰ ἱμάτιά μου.*

[2] I have not read the O.E. tale of William and the Werewolf in Hartshorne's Anc. metr. tales.

ülve, her daughters *marer* (nightmares). Thiele 1, 133 remarks, that the werewolf goes in human shape by day, yet so that his *eyebrows grow together* over the nose,[1] but at a certain time of night he turns into a *three-legged dog,* and can only be set free by some one calling him 'werewolf.' Burchard's account also seems to make lycanthropy something innate to man (see Suppl.)

That a change of the human form into that of the *bear* should also be familiar to Norse antiquity, is no surprising thing, as that animal was considered rational (Reinh., app. on p. lvi), and held in high esteem, p. 667. Finnbogi talks to him, and calls him *bessi,* Finnb. saga p. 246. A Danish song makes the transformation take place by tying an *iron collar* round one's neck, DV. 1, 184. In Norway it is believed that the Laplanders *turn into bears* : of a bear that is uncommonly daring and destructive they say, 'this can't be any christian bear.' An old bear in Ofoden's prästegjeld, who had killed six men and over sixty horses, had the same reputation, and when at last he was slain, a *girdle* is said to have been found on him (Sommerfelt Saltd. prästeg. p. 84).

Conversion into the *cat* has most of all to do with the works and ways of home-sprites (pp. 503-9) : there is nowhere the slightest hint of donning any belt or shirt. It is a common saying, that a cat of twenty years turns witch, and a witch of a hundred turns cat again. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 232) notices the assumption of *cat-shape.* As was the case with night-wives (p. 1060), examples occur in almost every witch-trial, and particularly common is the story of the wounded cat, whom you afterwards recognise in a bandaged woman. Cats meeting you are of double meaning, Sup. I, 643. One should never hurt a strange cat; the witch might serve you out. A farmer took on to ail from the day of his wedding: on that day he had shied a stone at a cat that walked into his yard with a *saddle on her.* The saddled cat is a kind of Puss-in-boots, KM. 3, 259. Wolf's Wodana pp. 123. 131 has stories of magic cats. But the cat is also to be spared because she was Frouwa's favorite beast (p. 305) : if it rains on your wedding-day, they say in the Wetterau 'you have *starved the cat,*' and so offended the messenger or handmaid of the love-goddess. Now night-wives and witches apparently travel in the train of that divinity.

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[1] Otherwise a mark of the witch or wizard who can set the *alb* on other men: he comes out of their *eyebrows* in butterfly shape, Deut. sag. 1, 132.

The *goose* too is a magic beast, and easily referable to the nobler *swan* of older legend. A sportsman shot at some *wild geese* and hit one, which fell into the bushes; when he came up to the place, there sat a *naked woman* unhurt, whom he knew very well, and who begged hard that he would not betray her, but get some clothes sent her from her house. He threw her his handkerchief to cover herself with, and sent the clothes (Mone's Anz. 6, 395). Niclas von Wyle, in the Dedication to his translation of Apuleius, tells us of a different case, which he had heard from the lips of Michel von Pfullendorf, clerk to the Imp. treasury: An innkeeper had through a *woman's witcheries* (gemecht, conf. make = conjure, p. 1032) been a *wild goose* for more than a year, and flown about with other such geese, till one day a goose that he was quarrelling and snapping with, happened to *tear from off his neck the little kerchief* in which the enchantment was knit up: again therefore a *swan-ring,* except that the witch does not wear it herself, but has changed an innocent man into the beast, just as werewolves are by turns enchanters and enchanted. In Kinderm. 193 *white strips of cloth* take the place of the swan-shift.

As the raven stands on a par with the wolf, we may fairly assume transformations of magicians into *ravens,* though I can think of no example: trolds in Dan. songs often appear as ravens, p. 993. Perhaps witches may be found turning into *crows* rather, as we already hear of an ôskmey (wish-maid, Völs. cap. 2): 'hun brâ â sik *krâku* ham, ok flŷgr;' and Marpalie in Wolfdietrich doffs her garments, claps her hands (p. 1026 n.) and turns into a *crow* (see Suppl.).

If the cast-off clothing, human or animal, be removed (p. 427-9), a re-assumption of the former shape becomes impossible; hence in legend and fairytale the practice of secretly burning the beast's hide when stript off.[1] Yet the human shape may be restored on this condition, that a spotless maid keep silence for seven years, and spin and sew a *shirt* to be thrown over the enchanted person, KM. 1, 53. 246. 3, 84. And such a *shirt* not only undoes the charm, but makes one spell-proof and victorious (Sup. I, 656. 708);[1] in the last passage, victory in a lawsuit has taken the place of the old victory in battle. In the Mid. Ages it was called *St. George's shirt,* and was spun on a *Saturday* (Vintler; conf. Sup. I, 333 the *thread spun on Christmas night*); Wolfdietrich receives it from Siegminne, i.e. from a wise spinning norn or valkyr (p. 434): obviously the old heathen idea was afterwards transferred to the conquering saint of the christian church. Not unlike are the *golden shirt* that defends from drowning, Beow. 1095, and the *frid-hemede* (App. Spells x); a woven flag of victory will be mentioned p. 1112. To me these famous shirts of fate seem connected with the threads and webs of the norns and dame Holda. A magic weaving and spinning was probably ascribed to witches, who in Sup. I, 824 are called *field-spinsters;* and Burchard's allusions to the superstition 'in lanificiis et ordiendis telis' are worth comparing, Sup. C, int. 52, and p. 193^d. Hincmar of Rheims (Opp. 1, 656) speaks of sorceries 'quas *superventas* feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant'; again p. 654: 'quidam etiam *vestibus carminatis* induebantur vel cooperiebantur.'[2] A similar thing is the magic and spell in the case of *swords,* conf. p. 687-8 (see Suppl.).

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[1] Aw. 1, 165. KM. 2, 264. Straparola 2, 1. Pentam. 2, 5. Vuk 1, xxxix seq. Fornald. sög. 2, 150-1.

There may be magic in the *mere look,* without bodily contact, what our old speech called *entsehen* (p. 1035), Ital. *gettare* gli sguardi, Neapol. *jettatura,* fascino dei malvagi occhi. The bleared, envious, *evil eye*[3] of a witch who walks in (Sup. I, 787), let alone her *breath* and *greeting,* can injure in a moment, dry up the mother's milk, make the babe consumptive, spoil a dress, rot an apple, *visu fascinare* (p. 1066 and Sup. C, p. 199^d): 'the coat is so handsome, the apple so red, no *evil eye* (onda öga, Sup. Swed. 57) must look upon it;' *hurtful look,* Sup. I, 874; *obliquus oculus,* Hor. Epist. i. 14, 37. Of sick cattle especially they say:

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[1] This *shirt of victory* reminds us of the child's *shirt of luck* (p. 874), which in Denmark is likewise called a *victor's shirt* (seyers-hue, -hielm, -serk). If we may ascribe high antiquity to the phrase 'born with *helmet* on,' such *seyers-hielm* foretells the future hero. Conf. Bulenger 3, 30 on *amniomantia,* i.e. divinatio per amnium seu membranam tertiam embryonis.

[2] Disenchanting or defensive shirts have their counterpart in *bewitching baneful* ones. In a Servian song (Vuk 3, 30, l. 786) a *gold shirt* is neither spun nor woven, but knitted, and a snake is worked into the collar. The shirt sent to Herakles, drenched in dragon's blood, is well known.

[3] *übel ougen,* Parz. 407, 8 are spiteful eyes; whereas 'ein *bœsez ouge*' 71, 16 is a weak, sore eye.

'some *evil eye* has been at it'; to look at a beast with sharp eyes. In Virgil's Ecl. 3, 103: 'nescio quis teneros *oculus* mihi fascinat agnos.' The Renner 18014 says, the glance of the eye kills snakes, scares wolves, hatches ostrich-eggs, breeds leprosy. Radulfi ardentis Homil. 42^a: 'cavete ab illis qui dicunt, quosdam *oculis urentibus* alios fascinare.' Persius 2, 34 has *urentes oculi;* and *fascinare, βασκαίνειν* with the ancients meant chiefly this kind of sorcery. The ON. expression is *sion-hverfîng,* look-throwing: 'sundr stauk sûla for sion iötuns,' asunder burst the pillar at the look of the giant, Sæm. 53^b. Stîgandi can by his look destroy anything; when taken prisoner, they pull a bag over his head (dreginn belgr â höfut honum): he peeps through a hole in the sack, and *with one look* spoils a field of grass, Laxd. p. 152-6. Different and yet similar are the *sharp eyes* of certain heroes (p. 391) and maids, e.g. Svanhildr being bound is to be kicked to death by horses: 'er hun (when she) *brâ î sundr augum,* þâ þorðu eigi (dared not) hestarnir at spora hana; ok er Bikki sâ þat, mælti hann, at belg skyldi draga â höfuð henni,' Fornald. sög. 1, 226. And of one Sigurðr we are told in Fornm. sög. 2, 174: 'at hann hefði *snart augnabragð,* at allir hundar hurfu frâ honum, ok var enginn svâ grimmr at þyrði â hann at râða, er hann *hvesti augun* îmôt þeim,' as dogs cannot endure the look of spirits and gods (p. 667). Any one possessed of this perilous power, who is *evil-eyed,* can prevent its baneful operation by directing his looks to a lifeless object. The phrase 'no one shall say black is your eye' means, no one can exactly report any harm of you (Brockett p. 66). Has that peculiar conformation of the witch's eye-pupil (p. 1080) anything to do with her evil eye? As a safeguard against its influence, the paw of the *blind* mole is worn[1] (see Suppl.).

But as great beauty enchants by the radiant glance of the eye, it has also magic power in the *smiling* of the lips. In a Mod. Greek song, when the charming maid *laughs, roses fall into her apron* (ὁποῦ γελᾷ, καὶ πέφτουνε τὰ ῥόδα 'ς τὴν ποδιάν της), Fauriel 2, 382. In Heinr. von Neuenstadt's Apollonius of Tyre, composed about 1400, it is asked l. 182: 'wâ sach man

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[1] It is another thing for conjurors to *blind the eyes* of men by jugglery: 'sunt et praestigiatores, qui alio nomine *obstrigilli* vocantur, quod praestringant vel obstringant humanorum aciem oculorum,' Hincm. Rem. ed. 1645. 1, 656.

rôsen lachen?' and then follows a tale about a man who *laughs roses:*

> 'der *lachet, daz ez vol rôsen was,*
> perg und tal, laub und gras.'

A Nethl. proverb (Tuinman 1, 306) says: 'als hy *lacht,* dan *sneuwt het rozen.*' The myth must have been very popular, as I frequently find in records (e.g. Böhmer's Cod. francof. 1, 185), and even at the present day, the names *Rosenlacher, Rosenlächler, Blumlacher.* The same poem of Apollonius has at l. 2370:

> er kuste sie wol dreissig stunt (30 times)
> an iren *rôsenlachenden* munt (mouth);

other passages to the point are quoted Aw. 1, 74-5. Gifted children of fortune have the power to laugh roses, as Freyja wept gold; probably in the first instance they were pagan beings of light, who spread their brightness in the sky over the earth, 'rose-children, sun-children,' Georg 48-9, *laughing* daybreaks (p. 747), *rose-strewing* Eos (p. 749). Mart. Cap. says, a silver urn 'quæ præferebat serena fulgentia et vernantis coeli temperie renidebat' was called *risus Jovis* (see Suppl.).

The *kissing mouth* has even greater power than the smiling. It is a recurring feature in our nursery-tales, that a *kiss* makes one *forget* everything (KM. 2, 168. 508), yet also that it brings back remembrance (2, 463). The unbinding of a spell hangs upon a *kiss* (p. 969). In the Norse legends *oblivion* is produced by a potion called *ôminnis-öl* (-ale), *ôminnis-dryckr,* the opposite of *minnis-öl* (p. 59): such an ôminnisöl Grimhild hands to Sigurð, who thereupon forgets Brynhild; and Goðrun, before she could forget Sigurð and choose Atli, had to drink an *ôminnis-veig,* whose magical concoction the poem describes, Sæm. 223^b. 234^a. So valkyrs, elfins and enchantresses offer to heroes their drinking-horns (p. 420), that they may forget all else and stay with them; conf. the Swed. tale in Afzelius 2, 159. 160 and the song in Arvidsson 2, 179. 282, where the miner makes the maiden drink of the *glömskans horn* and forget father and mother, heaven and earth, sun and moon. Now, seeing that *minna* in the Swed. folksongs and *minde* in the Dan. signify to kiss (minna uppå munnen, Sv. vis. 3, 123-4. D. vis. 1, 256. 298), as *φιλεῖν* is amare and osculari, and with us in the 16th cent. 'to set the seal of love' is roundabout for kissing; there must be a close connection between kissing and the minne-drinking at sacrifices and in sorcery.[1] But magic potions are of various kinds and extreme antiquity, their manufacture trenches on the healing art and poison-mixing (see Suppl.). *Love-drinks* have *love-cakes* to keep them company. Burchard describes how women, after rolling naked in wheat, took it to the mill, had it ground against the sun (ON. andsœlis, inverso ordine), and then baked it into bread. Popular superstition in Samland makes out, that when a wife perceives her husband growing indifferent toward her, she lays aside a piece of the raw dough from nine successive bakings of bread or scones, then bakes him a scone out of the pieces, on eating which his former love returns. The Esthonians have a karwakak (hair-bread), a loaf into which hairs have been baked as a charm. The *love-apples*, in which symbols were inscribed (Hoffm. Schles. monatschr. p. 754), are to the same purpose (see Suppl.).

There are certain *safeguards* in general use against *magic*. One should *not answer* a witch's question (Sup. I, 59), *not thank* her for her greeting (568); for certain kindnesses and gifts, if they are to do you good, it is advisable *not to thank* any one (398. Swed. 35. 52. Esth. 94). A witch may be known by her *thanking* you for lending things (I, 566); she *never answers three times* (563).—Whatever she *praises* will turn out ill, unless you promptly reply with railing, reviling, wishing 'the same to you' (696), or spitting. To praise one to his face does harm, Pliny 28, 2. 'Si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem cingite, ne vati noceat *mala lingua* futuro,' Virg, Ecl. 7, 27; hence in praising oneself a 'praefiscini' (prae fascino ?) was added, Plaut. Asin. ii. 4, 84. Insult and imprecation the ancients turned aside with the words: *εἰς κεφαλήν σοι*, on thy head may it fall!—The Mod. Greeks and Slavs are shy of praise, and try to save themselves by *spitting*: a Russian nurse directly *spits in the face* of one who cracks up her baby without putting in the precautionary 'God save the mark!' Before a witch's house you *spit three times* (Sup. I, 756), the same in crossing a haunted water by night

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[1] Minna = to kiss may indeed seem a corruption of mynna (to give mouth), ON. mynnaz, conf. mundes minne, MsH. 1, 45ª; still the other explanation has its weight too.

(Swed. 40); the Greeks at sight of a madman spat *thrice into their bosom,* Theocr. 6, 39. 21, 11. '*ter* dictis *despue* carminibus,' Tibull. i. 2, 55. Home-sprites cannot bear *spitting* (p. 514); conf. Sup. I, 317. 453. To the same effect, and worth reading, is what Pliny 28, 4 says on *despuere, adspuere, inspuere, exspuere.*—In case of need you may without scruple *strike* a suspected witch, and draw blood (p. 1096), or throw a *firebrand* at her (Sup. Swed. 96).—*Bread, salt* and *coals* are a protective against magic (I, 564. 713), as witches abstain from bread and salt (p. 1071). I fancy that *pipping* of the loaf, so distasteful to the wood-wives (p. 484), was a sacred magic-averting symbol; conf. 'placenta *digito notata*' in Lasicz 49.—Throw a *steel* over enchanted beasts, and they are bound to resume their natural shape (Sup. I, 886);[1] throw a *knife marked with the cross* over a witch, and you recognise her (554); when a man threw *steel* between the elfin and the hill, it prevented her going into it (p. 467); *steel* insures the child in the cradle from being changed. Instances of magic thus averted by *steel* we find in Faye 20. 24-5-6. 51. 141; conf. Sup. Swed. 71.—Witches and devils shun the *sign of the cross*: that is why we see so many crosses on the doors the first night in May. The peasant ploughs a *cross* into each corner of his field. On the cradles of infants before they were christened, the *cross* was lavishly employed to guard against elf or devil; just so the heathens used their *hammer,* and there is a remarkable vestige of it forthcoming still: '*malleum,* ubi puerpera decumbit, *obvolvunt candido linteo*' (Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol. Ultraj. 1659, pars 3 p. 121.)—No less do evil spirits hate and shun the sound of *bells* (pp. 1022-74); it disturbs their dance at the cross-road, Sup. I, 542.—To this must be added the methods mentioned p. 1078 of recognising witches and guarding against them (see Suppl.).

These are the most distinctive phenomena in the world of Magic. Many, indeed most magic appliances run over into Superstition, between which and magic proper it is impossible to draw a fixed boundary. I have indeed put forward, as a distinguishing mark of sorcery, the malicious design to do mischief, and it does seem to have resulted from *inverting* the wholesome use of occult forces in nature (pretty much as the devil from an inversion of God, p. 986); but particular applications of the true and the false art cannot always be kept apart. As a herb, a stone, a spell proves a source of healing, so may it also act perniciously too; the use was proper and permissible, the abuse abhorred and punished. A poisoner as such is not a witch, she becomes one in the eyes of the people the moment she uses preternatural means. A wise woman, healing sickness and charming wounds, begins to pass for a witch only when with her art she does evil; her means are as natural as the poison of the murderess. To higher antiquity, witches were priestesses, physicians, fabulous night-wives, whom men honoured, feared, and at last made light of, but never dreamt as yet of persecuting and executing. Maidens might turn into swans, heroes into werewolves, and lose nothing in popular estimation. In course of time, when the Devil's complicity with every kind of sorcery came to be assumed, the guilt of criminality fell upon all *personal* relations [with him]; but the people for the most part continued to practise their long-accustomed charms in the innocent sense of superstition, though a suspicion of sorcery was more likely to overshadow it now than before.

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[1] A peasant was driving his waggon one night, when a werewolf approached. To disenchant him, the man had the presence of mind instantly to tie his *fire-steel* to the lash of his whip, and fling it over the wolf's head, keeping the whip in his hand. But the wolf caught the steel, and the peasant had to save himself by speedy flight.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SUPERSTITION.

By Superstition is to be understood, not the whole body of heathen religion, which we think of as a delusion, a false belief, but the retention of particular heathen practices and principles. The christian convert rejected and loathed the gods of the heathen, but still there lingered in his heart notions and habits, which having no obvious reference to the old faith, seemed not directly opposed to the new. Wherever Christianity has left a vacuum, where its spirit could not at once penetrate the ruder minds, there *superstition* or *over-belief* grew rank. In Low German they say *bi-glove* by-belief, in Nethl. *overgelôf, bygelôf,* Dan. *overtro,* Icel. *hiatrû,* all modelled on the Latin *superstitio,* which itself is traceable to superstes (surviving), and denotes a persistence of individual men in views which the common sense of the majority has abandoned. A fortune-teller was to the Romans 'superstitiosus homo.' And the Swed. term *vidskepelse* seems primarily to mean a sort of magic, not superstition (p. 1036; see Suppl.).[1]

There are two kinds of superstition, an *active* and a *passive,* one being more the *augurium, sortilegium,* the other more the *omen* of the ancients.[2] If, without man's active participation, some startling sign be vouchsafed him by a higher power, he prognosticates from it good hap or ill. If the sign did not arise of itself, if he elicits it by his own contrivance, then there is positive superstition. Naturally christianity succeeded better in combating the positive superstition that was mixed up with heathen rites, than the negative and involuntary, which swayed the mind of man as the fear of ghosts does.

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[1] Also Swed. skrok, skråk, superstitio; the ON. skrök, figmentum. OHG. *gameitheit* superstitio, vanitas, Graff 2, 702. In Mod. Germ. I find *zipfel-glaube,* Schmid's Schwäb. id. 547. Lett. *blehnu tizziba,* faith in idle things (blehnas).

[2] Divine omnipotence produces *miracles* (p. 1031), a chance phenomenon mere *presages, omina, portenta,* in which sense Ulphilas renders *τέρατα* by *faúratanja,* Mk. 13, 22. John 6, 26. 1 Cor. 12, 12. With tani I can hardly connect anything but ON. tenîngr, talus, or OHG. zeno, provoco, Graff 5, 673 (see Suppl.).

The usages of active superstition always have some practical aim. A man wants to escape a present evil, to throw off a sickness, to get rid of his enemy, or he wishes to know and secure his future luck. And here we must not overlook how often, according to a difference of period or nationality, the same customs acquire a new relation and meaning,[1] being often torn away from their connexion, e.g. what had a distinct reference to sacrifice will, standing by itself, be unintelligible; and the same was the case with the objects of sorcery. What our forefathers hoped or feared had reference more to war and victory; the farmer of today cares about his corn and cattle. If the heathen sorceress with her hail destroys the host of the enemy, the modern witch makes foul weather for her neighbour's field. So the farmer promises himself a plenteous crop on the strength of an omen that in olden time betokened victory. Yet farming and cattle-breeding have a long history too, and a number of superstitious rites connected with them stretch without a break through many centuries. Likewise all the superstitions that look to domestic life, to birth and death, wooing and wedding, are rooted in nature, and almost unchangeable through the lapse of ages; superstition constitutes a kind of religion for all the lower kind of household wants.

Divinations form a leading feature of superstition. Man would fain lift the veil that time and space have cast over his weightiest concerns; by the use of mysterious means he thinks he can arrive at the truth. Divination lawful and unlawful has always been a function of the *priest* (or head of a family) and of the *magician* (p. 862-3): the one belongs to religion, the other to superstition.

Various words for divining and soothsaying were given at the beginning of last chapter, when we had to settle the meaning of magic. I have now to add an OHG. *heilisôn* augurari (AS. hâlsian); *heilisôd* omen, augurium; *heilisari* augur (AS. hâlsere), *heilisara* auguratrix. In MHG. these words had died out. One must distinguish them from OHG. heilizan salutare, AS. hâletan (see Suppl.).

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[1] It is conceivable that remnants of the old Roman divinatio were still in vogue at the time of the Lombards: 'habebat tunc Agilulf quendam de suis *aruspicem puerum*, qui per artem diabolicam, quid futurum portenderent *ictus fulminum* intelligebat,' Paul. Diac. 3, 30. The Etruscan haruspicia were especially directed to fulgura, O. Müll. 2, 32.

The sacred priestly divination appears, like the priestly office itself (p. 93), to have been *hereditary* in families. A female fortune-teller declared that the gift had long been in her family, and on her death the grace would descend to her *eldest daughter* (Sup. H, cap. 107) : from *mother* to *daughter* therefore, and from *father* to *son;* by some it is maintained that soothsaying and the gift of healing must be handed down from *women* to *men,* from *men* to *women.* To this day there are families that have the peculiar gift of foreseeing what will happen, especially fires, deaths and corpses: in L. Germany they call such people *vorkiekers,* fore-peepers. It is also said they can *quad sehn,* i.e. see or scent any coming misfortune, nay, the power is even allowed to horses, sheep and dogs: *horses* prophesy (p. 658), *hounds* can see spirits (p. 667). And notice in particular, that such men can impart their gift to him that *treads on their right foot and looks over their left shoulder;* this was apparently a very ancient, even a heathen posture, it was a legal formality in taking possession of cattle (RA. 589), and may have been tolerated among christians in other cases, e.g. one who is doing penance has to *step on the right foot* of the hermit, Ls. 1, 593. The first child christened at a newly consecrated font receives the power to see spirits and coming events, until some one shall from idle curiosity *tread on his left foot* and *look over his right shoulder,* when the gift will pass away to him, Sup. I, 996; on the other hand, he that *looks through the loop of the wise man's arm* (p. 939) becomes a seer of spirits, he beholds the natural and preternatural: even to the dog the gift descends, if you *tread on his right foot* and make him look over your *right shoulder,* Sup. I, 1111. Again, children born with the helmet can *see spirits,* ghosts or witches (p. 874n.). In all this we see the last quiverings of life in practices of the heathen priesthood, before they pass into mere conjuring and witchcraft (see Suppl.).

Divination is directed mainly to the discovery of *future* things, they being the most uncertain. The *past* is done and known, or can be ascertained in many ways; what goes on in the *present,* at a distance, we seldom feel any temptation to find out; an instance occurred at p. 1091n., where the pilgrim is enabled by magic to see what is going on at his home. Yet the *present* has its puzzles too, when methods have to be decided on, especially property to be divided.

When events and deeds of the *past* were wrapt in obscurity, antiquity had a thrice-hallowed means of discovery, the *ordeals* or judgments of God, a retrospective divination of sure and infallible success, such as judicial procedure demanded. But to every German ordeal it is essential that the accused should perform its ritus himself; in no case could it be placed in the judge's hands. This fact distinguishes it from the *sieve-driving* or *sieve-turning* practised since the Mid. Ages, which was performed by wise women, witches, conjurors, and even by respectable persons, to bring concealed criminals to light: the woman held a sieve that was an heirloom between her two middle fingers, uttered a spell, and then went over the names of suspected persons; when she came to that of the culprit, the sieve began to *sway and tilt over.*[1] The plan was adopted against thieves, and such as in a tumult had inflicted wounds; and sometimes to reveal the future, e.g. who should be a girl's sweetheart. I find the first mention of it in the poem cited on p. 1048: 'und daz ein *wîp ein sib tribe,* sunder vleisch und sunder ribe, dâ niht inne wære,' this I take to be a lie, says the author; his incredulity seems to rest on the tilting over, the sieve is void, has neither flesh nor bone. The sieve was also laid on a pair of tongs, which were held up between the two middle fingers. In Denmark the master of the house himself took the trial in hand, balancing the sieve on the point of a pair of scissors, Sup. Dan. 132. This sieve-running (sieve-chasing, sieve-dance) must have been very common in France and Germany in the 16-17th cent., many books mention it, and couple together sieve-turners and spell-speakers;[1] it may here and there be still in use, conf. Stender sub v. 'seetinu tezzinaht,' and his Gram. p. 299; it seems the Lettons stick it on a pair of shears. But it was already known to the Greeks, Theocritus 3, 31 mentions a *κοσκινόμαντις*, and Lucian (Alex. 7) speaks of *κοσκίνῳ μαντεύεσθαι* among the Paphlagonians; Potter 1, 766 thus describes the process of *κοσκινομαντεία*: they held up the sieve by a string, prayed to the gods, then ran over the names of the suspects; at that of the doer the sieve *set off spinning* (see Suppl.).

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[1] Sieve-running is described differently in the Meckl. jahrb. 5, 108: A sieve inherited from kinsfolk is set up on its edge, an inherited pair of scissors is opened and its points stuck into the sieve's edge deep enough to lift it by. Then two persons of different families take it to a perfectly dark place, put the middle finger of the right hand under the scissors' ring, and so raise the sieve. At the slightest movement of course the ring will slip off the finger, and the sieve fall, as in the dark it does not hang quite perpendicular. Then one begins to ask the other: 'I ask thee in the name of G., etc., tell me truth and lie not, who stole so and so? did Hans, Fritz, Peter?' At the name of the guilty party the *ring slips off*, the *sieve falls to the ground*, and the thief is known. In all the other descriptions I have read, the thing is done in daylight, and the sieve does not fall, but *spins round.*

In the same way people stuck a *hereditary key* in the Bible (at the first chap. of John),[2] or a *cleaver* in a wooden ball, which began to move when they came to the right name, Sup. I, 932. I surmise that the *revolution of the lotter-wood* worn by spruch-sprecher (lotter-buben, frei-harte, H. Sachs iv. 3, 58^a) was also for divining purposes; in the early Fragm. 15^c we find: 'louf umbe lotterholz, louf umbe gedrâte!' On this I shall be more explicit in another place.

It may be regarded as a relic of the judicium offae or casei (RA. 932), that those suspected of a theft were made to eat of a *consecrated cheese*: the morsel sticks in the throat of the real thief (Sup. H, cap. 51).[3]

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[1] Fischart's Dämonom. p. 71. Hartm. on Spells 99. Simplic. 2, 352. Ettner's Apoth. 1187. J. Praetorius on Sieve-running. Curiae Varisc. 1677. 4. Rommel's Hess. gesch. 6, 61. In Burgundy 'tonai le *taimi*,' Noels Borg. p. 374; taimi is the Fr. *tamis*, Nethl. *teems*, in Teutonista *tempse*, but in Diut. 2, 209 *tempf*. If Graff has not misread this, we might make of *Tamfana* (pp. 80. 257. 278) a goddess named after the sieve she held in her hand; that would look heathenish.

[2] H. Stahl's Westfal. sagen, Elberf. 1831. p. 127 gives a fuller account: The hered. key is put inside a hered. Bible, so that the ward part of the key lies on the words 'In the beginning was the Word,' and the ring stands out of the book. They tie it up tight with string, and hang it up by the end of the string to the ceiling. Then two people hold their fingers under the ring, touching it gently, and the injured party asks: 'has there been a witch at my cow?' The other must say No, and the complainant answer Yes, and this they keep up for some time. If the cow be really bewitched, the Bible begins to *turn round*, and then more questions are asked. If there has been no witchery, or the wrong witch is named, the Bible remains still. The turnings of *sieve* and *key* resemble those of the *wishing-rod*, p. 975.

[3] The Observationes ad Ivonis epistolas p. 157 have the following: 'Formulae in codicibus monasteriorum, quibus ad detegenda furta jubebatur oratio dominica scribi *in pane et caseo*, postea fieri *cruces de tremulo*, quarum una sub dextero pede, alia super caput suspecti viri poneretur, deinde post varias numinis invocationes imprecari, ut lingua et guttur rei alligaretur, *ne transglutire posset*, sed eorum [coram?] omnibus *tremeret*, nec haberet quo requiesceret. Cf. formulam Dunstani Cantuar. editam a Pitthoeo in glossario capitulariorum.' Against crossing cheeses (de *caseis cruce non signandis*) several ordinances were issued in the 15th cent. (docs. of 1430, '48, '70, '77 in Monum. boic. 16. 50. 55. 58. 61).

Other methods of forecasting the future were likewise available for detecting thieves or any malefactors.

The *lot* (OHG. hlôz, Goth. hláuts, AS. hleát, ON. hlutr) was the venerablest and fairest of all kinds of divination. A difficult and doubtful matter was to be raised thereby above human caprice and passion, and receive the highest sanction, e.g. in dividing an inheritance, in ascertaining the right victim (conf. p. 230), and so forth. Lot therefore decides a *present* uncertainty, but it may also extend to the *future.* Originally placed in the hands of a priest or judge, it afterwards became an instrument of sorcery (p. 1034-7), and sortilegus, sortiarius, sorcier are all derived from *sors.* Our OHG. *hliozan* seems in like manner to have passed out of the meaning sortiri into that of augurari, incantare, which it retains in its MHG. form *liezen,* Hoffm. fundgr. 2, 67. Er. 8123.

It was managed in two ways: the priest or the paterfamilias *cast* the lot, and interpreted it when fallen, or he held it out to the party to *draw;* the first was for indicating the future, the last for adjusting the present.

Let Tacitus describe the first kind: '*Sortium* consuetudo simplex. *Virgam,* frugiferae arbori decisam, *in surculos amputant,* eosque notis quibusdam discretos *super candidam vestem* temere ac fortuitu spargunt. Mox si publice consuletur, *sacerdos* civitatis, sin privatim ipse *pater familiae,* precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, *ter singulos tollit,* sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si *prohibuerunt,* nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin *permissum,* auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur,' Germ. 10.——Here the lots are but preliminary to the entire transaction, and if they prove unfavourable, further divination is not proceeded with. I need not transcribe the important explanations my Brother has given in his work on Runes pp. 296—307. A connexion there certainly is between these lots and the runes and ciphers; lot-books are mentioned as early as the 13th cent., Ls. 3, 169. Kolocz. 70 (see Suppl.).

The Armenians prophesied from the movement of cypress boughs: 'quarum *cupressorum surculis ramisque* seu leni sive violento vento *agitatis* Armenii flamines ad longum tempus in auguriis uti consueverunt,' as Moses Chorenensis (ed. 1736, p. 54) tells us in the 5th cent.

A long array of *divinations* seems to have been diffused over Europe by the Greeks and Romans;[1] from this source come Hartlieb's accounts of *hydromantia, pyromantia* (the fiur-sehen of Altd. bl. 1, 365), *chiromantia* (MHG. the *tisch in der hant,* Er. 8136), on which see more in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 271 (see Suppl.). The crystal-gazing of the pure child, Sup. H, cap. 90, is the '*gastromantia* ex vase aqua pleno, cujus meditullium (belly of the jar) vocabatur *γάστρη*.'[2]

More to the purpose are customs peculiar to certain nations, and not traceable to the above source: in these we either find a different procedure, or the forecasts are gathered from natural objects by *lying in wait, listening, looking.*

Our ancestors (acc. to Tac. Germ. 3) contrived to foresee the issue of a battle by the spirited or faltering delivery of the *war-song.*

The ancient Poles *reckoned on victory* if water *drawn in a sieve* was carried before the army *without running through.* I quote the words of the Chronicon Montis Sereni (Menken 2, 227. Hoffm. script. rer. lus. 4, 62): Anno 1209 Conradus, orientalis marchio, Lubus castrum soceri sui Wlodislai ducis Poloniae, propter multas quas ab eo patiebatur injurias, obsedit. Wlodislaus vero, obsidionem vi solvere volens, collecto exercitu copioso, marchioni mandavit, se ei altera die congressurum. Vespere autem diei praecedentis Oderam fluvium cum suis omnibus transgressus, improvisus supervenire hostibus moliebatur. Unus vero eorum qui supani dicuntur vehementer ei coepit obsistere, monens ne tempus pugnae statutum praeveniret, quia hoc factum nullius rectius quam infidelitatis posset nomine appellari. Quem dum dux timiditatis argueret, et fidelitatis qua ei teneretur commoneret, respondit: 'ego quidem ad pugnam pergo, sed scio me patriam meam de cetero non visurum.' Habebat autem (sc. Wlodislaus) ducem belli *pythonissam* quandam, quae de flumine *cribro haustam nec defluentem,* ut ferebatur, *ducens aquam exercitum praecedebat, et hoc signo eis victoriam promittebat.* Nec latuit marchionem adventus eorum, sed mature suis armatis et ordinatis occurrens, forti congressu omnes in fugam vertit, *pythonissa primitus interfecta.* Ille etiam supanus viriliter pugnans cum multis aliis interfectus est.——What is here an omen of success is elsewhere a test of innocence: a true-hearted boy *carries water in a sieve,* and not a drop runs out, KM. 3, 254; according to Indian belief the innocent can take water up in a lump like a ball. 'Exstat Tucciae vestalis incestae precatio, qua usa *aquam in cribro tulit,'* Pliny 28, 3; a witch sets a girl the task of *fetching water in the sieve,* Norske ev. 1, 88; the vestal had also to carry fire in a brazen sieve (supra p. 611), and a Dan. fairytale in Molbech's Ev. p. 22 actually speaks of carrying the sun in a sieve. The sieve comes before us as a sacred old-world vessel with miraculous properties. What the myth imports the proverb treats as sheer impossibilities: 'er schepfet wazzer mit dem sibe, swer âne vrîe milte mit sper und mit schilte ervehten wil êre und lant,' he draws water in a sieve, who by brute force, etc., Troj. 18536. 'Lympham infundere cribro,' Reinard. 3, 1637 (see Suppl.).

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[1] Alphabetically arranged in Fabricii Bibliogr. antiq. (ed. 3 Hamb. 1760), 4, pp. 593—613. Conf. Potter's Archäol. 1, 758—769.

[2] Melber de Geroltzhofen says in Vocabularius predicantium (sheet R 4): '*Nigromantia.* schwartz kunst die do ist mit *vffsehung der dotten*, mit den der nigromanticus zaubert, oder mit den *dryen ersten schollen*, die der pfaff wirfft ynsz grab, oder mit den *wydhopffen, die do lauffen by den grebern.*' The passage is also quoted from Melber in Jod. Eychman's Vocab. predic., Nürnbg 1483.

By AS. accounts, the Northmen had a wonderful standard borne before their army, from whose indications they inferred victory or defeat. In Asser's Vita Alfredi p. 33 ad an. 878: '. . . vexillum quod *reafan* (for raefan, hræfen, ON. hrafn) vocant. Dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Habbae, filiae videlicet Lodebrochi illud vexillum *texuerunt,* et totum paraverunt illud *uno meridiano tempore.*[1] Dicunt etiam quod in omni bello, *ubi praecederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivus volitans;* sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, *penderet directe nihil movens:* et hoc saepe probatum est.'——The Encomium Emmae (Duchesne's Script. Norm. 169) says, the flag was of plain white silk, but in war-time there became visible in it a raven, with open beak and fluttering wings whenever victory smiled on them, but sitting still with drooping feathers when it eluded their grasp. Ailredus Rievallensis p. 353 declares this raven to have been the devil himself, who does at times assume the shape of that bird (p. 997); we more naturally see in it the bird of the heathen god of victory (p. 671): Oðinn might give the victorious host this sign that he was sending down his messenger. Yet no Scand. story alludes to such a flag of victory.

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[1] The thread spun between 11 and 12 (Sup. I, 841) corresponds wonderfully.

Prophesying from the auspicious *neighing of horses* has been dealt with, p. 658. Dempster in Antiq. Rom. 3, 9 says: 'equos hinnitu alacriore et ferociore fremitu victoriam ominari etiamnunc militibus persuasum est.' At twelve o'clock on Christmas night the superstitious *listen* at crossroads, at boundary-stones: if they can hear swords rattle and *horses neigh*, there will be war the coming spring (so war is foretold by the neighing in the Furious Host, p. 938). At the same season maids *listen* at the *stable door* for the neighing of stallions, and if they hear it, make sure of a suitor presenting himself by Midsummer (Liebusch's Skythika p. 143). Others lie down *in the horse-manger* at Christmas, to learn future events (Denis Lesefrüchte 1, 128). Misfortune is near when the steed *stumbles*, e.g. the Servian Sharats (Vuk 1, 240).

Spatulamancia in Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 115) is a corruption of *scapulimantia*, an art that seems not solely derived from Romans or Byzantines. Lambeck 7, 224 says the Vienna library has a treatise by Michael Psellus (I know not which one) περὶ ὠμοπλατοσκοπίας. Vintler too (Sup. G, l. 126) mentions the inspection of *shoulder-bones*. 'Divinationes *sculterren-blat*,' Altd. bl. 1, 365. Jornandes cap. 37: 'Attila diffidens suis copiis, metuens inire conflictum, statuit per aruspices futura inquirere. Qui more solito nunc *pecorum fibras*, nunc quasdam *venas in abrasis ossibus* intuentes, Hunnis infausta denuntiant.'[1] Among the Kalmuks are sorcerers called *dalatchi*, because they predict from the *shoulderblade* (dala) of *sheep*, *swans* and *stags*. They let these bones burn in the fire for a time, then report the aspect of the streaks and lines that have arisen on them. If the fire have left many black marks on the blades, the dalatchi holds out hopes of a mild winter; many white marks indicate snow (Bergm. Nomad. streifer. 3, 184). The Cherkesses too have soothsaying from shoulderblades, conf. Erman's Archiv 1842. 1, 123 (see Suppl.).

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[1] Such extispicia were performed on beasts slain for sacrifice; but animals were also killed for the mere purpose of divination: 'Recluso pectore (of a *goose*), extraxit fortissimum *jecur*, et inde mihi futura praedixit,' Petron. 137. 'Quis invenit *fissam jecoris?*' Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 6.

This comes very near the forecasting by the *goose-bone* (ex anserino sterno), Sup. H, cap. 121, which appears among the people in later times, probably even now, conf. Sup. I, 341; K, 163; Meckl. Jahrb. 9, 219 no. 46. I have marked a few passages for extraction. Ettner's Ungew. apoth. p. 1144: 'And wha prognostica must not the *breastbones* of *capon*, *goose* and *duck* yield! If the same be red, they ordain an abiding coldness; or if white, clear and transparent, then shall the winter's weather be endurable.' Martinsgans by Joh. Olorinus variscus (Magdeb. 1609. 8), p. 145: 'Good old ladies, I present to you the *breastbone*, that ye learn thereby to foretell true as the almanack, and become weather-prophets. The fore part by the throat signifies the fore-winter, the hinder part the after-winter, white is for snow and mild weather, the other for great cold.' Gansköuig by Lycosthenes Psellionoros (Wolfg. Spangenberg) Strasb. 1607, ciii: 'The *breastbone* which they call the *steed* (made into a prancing horse for children); and well can many an ancient dame, prognosticating by the same, tell by the hue infallibly, how keen the winter's cold shall be.' Rhythmi de ansere (in Dornau 1, 403): 'Then in my breast the *merrythought*, I trow it lies not there for nought, for men therein may plainly see what winter weather it shall be, and many a man holds fast thereto, accounting me a prophet true.'

Those who thus looked after the weather were called *weter-sorgære*, Er. 8127 (*weter-wîser* man 7510), or *weter-kiesære*, -chooser, whence the surname *Kiesewetter*, Gramm. 4, 848; in Rauch's Script. 1, 430 I find a place 'bei der *weterkiesen*,' as if certain spots were favourable to weather-choosing.

The Esthonians foretold *weather* and *fruitfulness* from *bownets*. Gutslaff says in his book on Wöhhanda p. 209: 'I am told that on this beck the husbandmen of old had their augurium respecting weather, which they managed thus. They set in the beck *three baskets* in a row, and not heeding the two outer, gave their mind wholly to the *midmost*, what kind of fish would come into the same. For if into this basket were gotten a *scaleless fish*, as crab, quab or the like, they had ill weather and unfruitful year to dread, and were fain to *sacrifice an ox* for to obtain good weather. Whereupon they set the baskets in as before, and if again a *scaleless fish* were found therein, then a second time did they *sacrifice an ox,* and set the baskets in for the third time. If once more they found a *scaleless fish,* then this third time they *sacrificed a child,* in hope to get good weather and a plenteous season. And if yet again *fishes not scaly* were come into the middle basket, they rested therewith content, and with patience abided it. But when *scaly fish* were found therein, they cast them to have fair weather and fruitful year, whereat they rejoiced greatly.' ——A different thing altogether was the Greek *ἰχθυομαντεία* from fish's entrails (Potter's Archäol. 1, 703).

As horses' neighing was watched for (p. 1113), so there was listening at night in the growing *cornfields:* going into the winter-crop on Christmas night to overhear the future, or on May-night into the *green corn,* Sup. I, 420. 854. The cereals were a sacred thing, 'der *heilego ezesg,*' N. ps. 140, 7 (Goth. atisks), 'das *liebe* korn,' Gramm. 3, 665. So then, sitting in the corn, one might hear the sound of voices, hear spirits conversing on coming events. They *listened* also at *cross-ways,* Sup. I, 854. 962, where boundaries touched: the *partings of roads*[1] were accounted meeting-places of sprites and witches (p. 1074 and Sup. I, 647), conf. the ON. 'þar sem götur (roads) mœtast,' Forn. sög. 3, 22. Did images of heathen gods stand where the roads forked? We are told of people praying, sacrificing and lighting candles *ad bivia,* Sup. C, p. 193^d; and just before that, p. 193^c, we hear of them sitting at the cross-way,[2] without the corn being mentioned: '*in bivio* sedisti *supra taurinam cutem,* ut ibi futura tibi intelligeres?' To me the *bull's hide,* like the *bearskin* (p. 1010, conf. Reinh. p. lvi), indicates heathen sacrifice. And here a Gaelic rite described by Armstrong seems to furnish a valuable clue: A man is wrapt in the *warm skin of an animal just killed,* he is then laid down beside a *waterfall* in the forest, and left alone; by the roar of the waves, it is thought, the future is revealed to him, and this kind of divination is called *taghairn.* The 'forse' too was a sacred spot, as well as the forking of roads:

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[1] A Persian superstition: 'sitting down at the *junction of four cross-roads* on a Wedn. night, and applying to yourself every sentence spoken by the passers and considering it as a good or bad omen,' Atkinson, p. 11. 12.

[2] If after supper on Christm. eve a girl *shakes out the tablecloth* at a *crossway,* a man will meet her, and give her good even. Of the same height and figure will her future husband be. The shaken cloth has taken the place of the spread, or, of the animal's hide. Divination by sowing *basilicum* is known to Vuk 1, 22. no. 36 (Wesely p. 58).

this last is mentioned in the Edda, 'opt bölwîsar konor sitja *brauto nær,* þær er deyfa sverð ok sefa,' Sæm. 197^{b}. Some people on New-year's day would sit on the *house-roof, girt with a sword,* and explore the future, Sup. C, p. 193^{c}. This again must have been a holy place, for sick children were also set *on the roof* to be cured, Sup. C, 10, 14; p. 195^{c}. Does this explain why, when a person cannot die, some shingles *in the roof* are turned, or taken right out (I, 439. 721)? Also when a child has convulsions, a plank is turned, J. Schmidt 121. A peculiar practice is, to *listen* while you dangle out of window a ball of thread fastened to a hereditary key, Sup. I, 954.

Sneezing (*πταίρειν,* sternuere) has from the earliest times been fraught with meaning. Some take it for a mild form of apoplexy, a momentary palsy, during which one loses the free use of his limbs, Sup. H, c. 74. The Greeks saluted the sneezer with *ζῆθι, Ζεῦ σῶσον!* conf. Anthol. Gr. ii. 13, 11. 'Cur *sternumentis* salutamus? quod etiam Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum (ut constat) hominum, in vehiculo exegisse tradunt,' Plin. 28, 2. 'Giton ter continuo ita sternutavit, ut grabatum concuteret, ad quem motum Eumolpus salvere Gitona jubet,' Petron. sat. 98.[1] The Arabs too salute at sneezing (Rückert's Hariri 1, 543). In our Mid. Age poets I find: 'die Heiden nicht endorften *niesen,* dâ man doch sprichet, Nu *helfiu Got!*' durst not sneeze, though etc. Turl. Wh. 35. '*Christ iu helfe!* sô sie *niesen,*' Ms. 2, 169^{b}. 'durch daz solte ein schilt gesellen kiesen, daz im ein ander *heiles wunschte,* ob dirre schilt kunde *niesen,*' Tit. 80. 'sô *wünsch* ich dir ein *niesen,*' Ms. 2, 217^{b}. 'wir sprechen, swer *niuset,* Got helfe dir!' Renn. 15190. 'Deus te adjuvet' (A.D. 1307), Pistor. script. 1, 1024; conf. Königshoven p. 302. Enchanted sprites *sneeze* under a bridge, that some one may call out *God help!* and undo the spell, DS. no. 224-5-6. Mone's Anz. 4, 308. 'dir hât diu katze niht *genorn,*' Helbl. 1, 1393. To the Greeks there seemed something divine in sneezing: *τὸν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα,* Arist. probl. 33, 7; conf. 11, 33. Xen. Anab. iii. 2, 9. Theocr. 7, 96. 18, 16. Words confirmed by sneezing come true, Od. 17,

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[1] 'Sternutantibus salvere dictum antiquior mos quam putatur,' Valesius in Valesiana p. 68. 'Pourquoi on fait des souhaits en faveur de ceux qui éternuent,' Morin in Mém. de l'acad. des inscr. 4, 325. J. Gerh. Meuschen de antiquo et moderno ritu salutandi sternutantes, Kilon. 1704. Gesch. der formel 'Gott helf dir!' beim niesen, publ. by Wieland, Lindau 1787.

541-5. '*sternutationes* nolite observare,' Sup. A. Whoever sneezes during a narrative is bound to prove its truth. In the Christmas nights do not sneeze, and the cattle will not die. The passage in Hartlieb, Sup. H, c. 73, is curious; conf. Sup. I, 186. 266. 437 and M (Esthon.) 23 (see Suppl.).

Ringing in the ears, garrula auris, *βόμβος,* is lucky when in the right ear. 'Absentes *tinnitu aurium* praesentire sermones de se receptum est,' Plin. 28, 2, conf. Sup. I, 82. 802; *booming* in the ear, F, 27.——*Quivering of the eye: ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός,* Theocr. 3, 37. *Itching of brows* and *cheeks,* Sup. I, 141. D, 38 r. 140 v. 'si vibrata salitione insuetum alter oculorum, *dexter* vel *sinister* palpitaret, si concuterentur ac veluti exsilirent aut trepidarent musculi, humeri aut femora etc., mali erant ominis,' Dempster's Antiq. Rom. 3, 9; conf. Suidas sub v. *οἰωνιστική.* The Indians thought *twitching of the right eye* a bad omen (Hirzel's Sakuntala p. 65). Itching in the *right* eye has a good meaning, in the *left* a bad, says Tobler 30.——*Bleeding of the nose:* unlucky if on the left side, Sup. I, 825. If in going out you *catch against the door,* or *stumble on the threshold,* you are warned to turn back (248. 895). If your *right hand itches,* you will part with money, if your left, you will take money. *Itching of the right eye* betokens crying, of the left, laughing. If your *soles itch,* you are going to dance, if your *nose,* to hear news. Whoever gets a *yellow finger* has lost a relation (see Suppl.).

The many ways of finding out one's *lover* or *suitor* that is to be are, so far as I see, unconnected with Roman or Greek superstition. The girl hearkens to the cackling of the *cock* (Sup. I, 101), or she *throws* her *wreath of flowers* (848. 1093; conf. 867), or some particular night in the year she pulls a *billet of wood out of the stack* or a *stick out of the hedge* (I, 109. 958; F, 7. 49), walking to it *back foremost;* or on a dark night she clutches at the flock in hopes of pulling out a *ram* (I, 952). Walking *backwards* or standing *naked* is a usual requisite in this, as in other cases (I, 506-7. 928; G, l. 207). Another way is, being *naked,* to *throw* one's *shift* out through the door (I, 955), or to grasp *backwards* through the door at the lover's hair (I, 102), or to *spread the table for him* (as for norns), and then he is bound to appear and eat his supper off it. Harrys in Volkss. 2, 28 describes the so-called *nappel-pfang:* in a vessel full of clean water you set afloat little *pots* of thin silver plate marked with the names of those whose fate is in question; if a young man's pot comes up to a girl's, it will be a match. The same is done in some parts with simple *nutshells*.[1]

Like the discovery of one's future husband, it was an important matter to ascertain the *sex of a child* before it was born. This could be gathered from the persons one met in going to church, Sup. I, 483, from previous children (677. 747), from sneezing (M, 23). That a woman would have none but daughters, was to be learnt by other signs (I, 678. M, 22). An O. Fr. poem in Méon 3, 34 has the following:

voire est que je sui de vous grosse,
si m'enseigna l'on à *aler*
entor le mostier sans parler
trois tors, dire trois patenostres
en l'onor Dieu et ses apostres,
une fosse au talon féisse,
et par trois jors i revenisse:
s'au tiers jorz *overt le trovoie,*
c'etoit un fils qu'avoir devoie,
et s'il etoit clos, c'etoit fille.

Throwing shoes over one's head, and seeing which way the points look, reveals the place where one is destined to stay longest, Sup. I, 101; G, l. 220. The Sermones disc. de tempore mention, among superstitious Christmas customs, that of *calceos super caput jactare,* Sermo xi.

They also speak of some 'qui *cumulos salis ponunt,* et per hoc futura pronosticant.' Sup. I, 1081: 'on Christmas eve put a little *heap of salt* on the table; if it melts overnight, you die next year; if not, not.' Again, in a house where one lies dead, they make *three heaps of salt* (I, 846). This has to do with the sacred nature of *salt* (pp. 1046. 1076). Apparently of Greek origin is the widely received custom of *pouring out lead* (I, 97; H, cap. 96); even Ihre (de superst. p. 55) mentions it, conf.

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[1] Divining by *filberts* was another thing: 'infra manus meas camellam vini posuit, et cum digitos pariter extensos porris apioque lustrasset, *avellanas nuces* cum precatione mersit in vinum; et sive in summum redierant, sive subsederant, ex hac conjectura dicebat,' Petron. 137.

'*molybdomantia* ex plumbi liquefacti diversis motibus,' Potter's Arch. 1, 339 (see Suppl.).

But no species of superstition had more deeply penetrated the entire Mid. Ages than the presages known under the names of *anegane* (an-gang, coming upon), *widerganc, widerlouf.* A beast, a man, a thing, that you unexpectedly encountered on stepping out of doors or setting out on a journey at early morn, while yet the day is fresh, betokened weal or woe, and admonished you to go on with what you had begun, or to give it up. When Saxo Gram. p. 84 says '*congressionum* initia,' what was the Norse word he had in his mind? perhaps viðr-gângr, or still better môt (meeting)? As the beginning of any business is critical (omina principiis inesse solent, Ov. Fasti 1, 178), as the first stepping into a new house, on to a new bridge, is cautiously set about (p. 1021), and the god or daemon claims the first he meets (see below); so men took note of every sign that attended a purposed ride or journey. The M. Latin term for it is *superventa* (sc. res), what surprises, supervenit (Fr. survient)[1]; or even, taking it literally, what floats above us in the air, though that indeed would only apply to the flight of birds. Hincmar de divortio Lotharii (supra, p. 1099) says: 'ad haec . . . pertinent, quas *superventas* feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant.' These the Greeks called *ἐνόδια σύμβολα,* and we have most of them in common with them, with the Romans, nay with Oriental nations. In view of the almost universal diffusion of these 'angänge,' it is hardly credible that they first came to the Germans in the wake of Latin literature: they rest on the older kinship of all European nations, and the very earliest observer of our kindred, Tacitus, remarked this mode of divination among them: '*auspicia* sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant . . . et illud quidem etiam hic notum, *avium voces volatusque* interrogare.' And of horses, p. 658. Many of our old myths lay a stress on the primitiae: we need only mention Wodan's promising the victory to those whom he should first set eyes upon at sunrise, p. 134 (see Suppl.).

I will first take passages that group several things together, and then elucidate particulars.

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[1] ['And *overcome* us like a summer's cloud.'—Macbeth.]

To begin with Xenophon's Memorab. i. 1, 4: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι φασὶν ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντώντων ἀποτρέπεσθαί τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι. And, i. 1, 14: τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα θηρία σέβεσθαι, i.e. 'obvia animalia,' not, as some have taken it, 'vulgaria, ubivis obvia.'

The earliest evidence from our own Mid. Ages, but one that speaks very generally, is found in St. Eligius, Sup. A: 'nullus observet egrediens aut ingrediens domum, quid sibi *occurrat,* vel si aliqua vox reclamantis fiat, aut qualis *avis cantus* garriat, vel quid etiam *portantem* videat.' Greg. Turon. 7, 29: 'et cum *iter ageret,* ut consuetudo est barbarorum, *auspicia intendere* coepit, ac dicere sibi esse contraria.' We find more detail in John of Salisbury's Polycraticus sive de nugis curial. 1, 13, which however I do not quote in full: 'Si *egrediens* limen calcaveris aut in via offenderis, pedem contine . . . Cum processeris, abscondita futurorum *aves* quas *ominales* vocant tibi praenunciabunt. Quid *cornix* loquatur diligenter ausculta, situmque ejus sedentis aut volantis nullo modo contemnas. Refert etenim plurimum, a dextris sit an a sinistris, qua positione respiciat cubitum gradientis, loquax sit an clamosa, an silens omnino, praecedat an sequatur, transeuntis expectet adventum, an fugiat, quove discedat. *Corvus* vero, quem non minori diligentia observabis, rebus majoribus auspicatur, et usquequaque cornici praejudicat. Porro *cygnus* in auguriis ales gratissima nautis, utpote quae aquarum domestica quadam gratia familiaritatis eorundem secreta praenoverit. Si avis quae vulgo dicitur *albanellus* (see below) praetervolans viam a sinistris feratur ad dextram, de hospitii hilaritate ne dubites, si contra, contrarium expectabis. *Leporis* timebis occursum, *lupo* obvio congratulaberis; *ovibus* gratanter obviam gradieris, dum *capram* vites. *Bobus triturantibus,* libentius tamen *arantibus* obviabis; nec displiceat si viam ruperint, quia mora itineris hospitii gratia compensabitur. *Mulus* infaustus est, *asinus* inutilis, *equus* quandoque bonus est; habet vero jurgiorum et pugnae significationem, interdum tamen ex colore et visu mitigatur. *Locusta* itinerantium praepedit vota, econtra *cicada* viatoris promovet gressum. *Aranea* dum a superioribus filum ducit, spem venturae pecuniae videtur afferre. *Sacerdotem* obvium aliumve *religiosum* dicunt esse infaustum; *feminam* quoque, quae *capite discooperto* incedit, infelicem crede, nisi *publica* sit.'——

Petrus Blesensis (d. about 1200) epist. 65: 'Somnia igitur ne cures, nec te illorum errore involvas, qui occursum *leporis* timent, qui *mulierem sparsis crinibus,* qui *hominem orbatum oculis,* aut *mutilatum pede,* aut *cuculatum* habere obvium detestantur; qui de jucundo gloriantur hospitio, si eis *lupus* occursaverit aut *columba,* si a sinistra in dexteram *avis S. Martini* volaverit, si in egressu suo *remotum* audiant *tonitrum,* si hominem *gibbosum* obvium habuerint aut *leprosum.*'[1]——Hartmann makes his dauntless Erek defy the danger:

8122. Keins swachen glouben er phlac (cherished).
er wolt der wîbe *liezen* (lot-casting)
engelten noch geniezen (pay for, nor partake).
swaz im *getroumen* (dream) mahte
dar ûf het er kein ahte (took no heed);
er was kein *weter-sorgære* (no weather-watcher):
er sach im als mære
des morgens über den wec varn
die *iuweln* (owls) sam den *mûsarn*
ouch hiez er selten machen
dehein *fiur ûz der spachen*
daz man in dar an sæhe,
er phlac deheiner spæhe.
ez was umbe in sô gewant,
im was der *tisch in der hant*
als mære enge sô wît,
und swaz ungelouben gît (gibt, gives)
dâne kêrte er sich nicht an.

This is imitated by Wirnt, whose Wigalois also goes forth:

6182. dehein ungeloube in muote (no superstition in mind)
in dem hûse noch ûf dem wege,
er lie (liez, left) ez allez an Gotes pflege (care).
Swaz im des morgens *wider lief* (ran against),
oder swie vil diu *krâ gerief* (how the crow cried),
swie vil der *mûsäre umbe geflouc* (how the m. flew round),
der ungeloube in niht betrouc (deluded):

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[1] Conf. Chrysostom (b. 354 d. 407) ad popul. Antioch. homil. 21 (Opp. Etonae 1612. 6, 610): *Πολλάκις ἐξελθών τις τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον ἑτερόφθαλμον ἢ χωλεύοντα, καὶ οἰωνίσατο . . . ἐὰν ἀπαντήσῃ παρθένος, φησὶν, ἄπρακτος ἡ ἡμέρα γίγνεται. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπαντήσῃ πόρνη, δεξιὰ καὶ χρηστὴ καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπορίας γέμουσα.*

wand' er (for he) niht dar ûf ahte (heeded).
Wir haben maneger slahte (many a sort)
bôsheit unde gelouben (sin and superstition),
dâ mit wir uns nû rouben (whereby we rob us)
aller unser sælecheit (bliss).
ez ist vil manegem manne leit (loth, painful)
swenne im ein *wîp daz swert gît* (gives);
daz lie der riter âne nît (W. took no offence),
ern' ahtet niht dar ûf ein hâr,
ez wære gelogen (false) oder wâr:
er het in Gotes gnâde gegeben
beidiu sêle unde leben.
swaz im *des morgens wider gie* (ging; met him),
daz engeflôch (shunned) der riter nie,
wan (for) guoten gelouben het er ie (ever).

Berthold p. 58: 'So gloubent etelîche an *bœsen anegane* (evil meeting): daz ein *wolf guoten anegane* habe, der aller der werlte schaden tuot, und ist halt sô unreine daz er die liute an stinket (infects), daz nieman bî im genesen mac; und daz ein *gewîhter priester bœsen anegane* habe, an dem aller gloube lît (faith lies) . . . Sô gloubent etelîche an den *miusearn;* sô ist dem der *hase* (hare) über'n wec geloufen. Als ist ir unglouben als (so) vil, daz sîn nieman ze ende komen mac.' Conf. Sup. I, 128. The word 'anegane' is supported by Rudolf's Weltchron. (Cod. Zeisb. 114), in speaking of Moses:

er verbôt allen *anegane*,
vogel-vluc, stimme oder sanc,
daz dâ geloupte nieman an;

and Walth. 118, 16 says of a wretched man: 'wizzet, swem der *anegenget* an dem morgen fruo, deme gêt ungelücke zuo,' whom he on-gangeth at early morn, on him shall come misfortune. The Nethl. Reinaert 1055 expresses the notion by '*tekîn* ende *ghemoet*,' token and meeting;[1] Reineke, ed. Hakemann p. 52, by *gemöte*, and people still say 'to möte komen.'——The ON. *heill* (omen) is a more general expression; but one lay of the Edda (Sæm. 184^b) mentions three signs favourable to the warrior at the swinging of swords (at sverða svipon): the first is, if the dark *raven follow* him (fylgja ens deyqva hrafns),[1] which calls to mind the *raven* in the flag of fortune (p. 1112); the other two are clearly 'angänge,' for it says: 'ef þû ert *ût umkominn,* ok ert *â braut bûinn,*' if thou hast gone out and art on thy road; then the second sign is: '*tvâ* þû lîtr â tâi standa *hrôðrfûsa hali,*' thou seest two fame-thirsty men (warriors) stand on the start;[2] and the third sign: 'ef þû *þiota heyrir ûlf* und ask-limom, heilla auðit verðr ef þû ser þâ *fyrri fara,*' if thou hear a wolf howl under ash-boughs, good hap is destined thee if then[3] thou see him run forwards. It is Hnikarr (Oðinn) that puts Sigurð up to these omens. But against the three signs of luck are set two of misfortune: one is, if the hero have to fight toward set of sun (sîð-skînanði systor mâna); another, if in going forth to battle he *trip with the foot* (ef þû fœti drepr).——Then in the Gesellensprüche I see notable instances of angang in the *frogs* of the pool, the *ravens,* the *three old women,* the *maiden with the goat* (A. w. 1, 91. 107. 111). Again, Ihre de superst. p. 82: 'Ejusdem indolis est, quod tradunt nostrates de occursu hominum et animalium, e.g. si cui domo sua mane egredienti occurrat *mendicus, vetula, claudus,* aut *felis, canis, vulpes, lepus, sciurus,* is dies inauspicatus habetur. Observant haec prae aliis sagittarii et piscatores, qui ejusmodi ominibus oblatis haud raro domum revertuntur et a proposito abstinent.' Lasicz 48: 'Quin ipse quoque rex Wladislaus, gente Lituanus, has a matre sua superstitiones didicerat, ut eum diem infaustum sibi futurum crederet, quo primum *calceum sinistrum* fortuito accepisset. Ad hoc movebat se interdum in gyrum stans pede uno, foras e cubili prodíturus. Quorum similia multa observantur a Samagitis; quidam infeliciter se venaturos sibi persuadent si domo egressis *mulier occurrat,* seu quis certum numerum capiendorum leporum, vulpium, luporum nominet.' Lucas David's Chron. i. 146-7 says of the ancient

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[1] Rein. 1107: sulc mochte ons daer *ghemoeten*,
hi soude ons *quedden* ende *groeten*,
die ons nemmermê dade goet.

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[1] In Nialss. cap. 8 two avengers of blood have luck, because *two ravens accompany* them all the way (hrafnar tveir flugo með þeim alla leið): do they attend as Oðin's messengers? or because they scent the coming carcase? Other passages are: '*hrafn* at meiði hâtt kallaði,' Sæm. 208^b; '*hrafn* flŷgr *austan* af hâmeiði, ok eptir honum örn î sinni,' Fornald. sög. 1, 428.

[2] What is the exact meaning of '*â tâi* standa, sitja (Sæm. 266^b), spretta (269^a)'? tâi can hardly be Dat. sing. or Acc. pl. of the fem. tâ (toe); it seems rather to be a case of a masc. noun, and to contain a notion of place.

[3] I take þâ as = tum, eo momento.

Prussians, that they regarded an encounter with a *sick* man as bad, with a *mounted* man as good, with a *fox* or *hare* as bad (see Suppl.).

It is hard to get at the meaning of all these divers prognostics. First, of *human angang*. Ill-luck is supposed to follow that of an *old woman*, of a *woman with dishevelled hair*, or what comes to the same thing, *loosened headband* (découverte, discooperta, It. scoperta). If an *old wife* meet you in the morning, if you have to pass between two *old wives*, your day is unlucky, Sup. I, 58. 380. 791. 976. When a huntsman in the morning comes upon an *old woman*, he lies down and makes her step over him, to ward off mischief (Hessian pop. cust.). In Switzerland to meet a *woman* is unlucky, at least on New-year's day (Tobler 447ᵇ). Swedish superst. K, 53 holds all meeting with *woman-folk* bad, unless it be a *lön-hora*, as the παρθένος in Chrysostom betokened an unlucky day, and the πόρνη a lucky. So in Sup. I, 177: the *virgin* or *priest* is an evil sign, the *prostitute* a good.[1] But Ihre speaks expressly of a *vetula*, so does Arndt's Journey to Sweden 1, 44, and a Finnish song (Schröter's Runen p. 67): 'go forth by early morn, lest *ancient crone with crooked chin* do *squint* at thee.' This last hint plainly sets before us the notion of a *witch*, still more does the loose flying hair (p. 1089) that of a *night-wife* (Sup. I, 878), *fortune-teller*, heathen *priestess*, conf. the Cimbrian πολιόθριξ p. 55. Veldek 21ᵇ paints his Sibylla as *andfas* (horrida crinibus), 'daz mies lockehte hienc ir ûz den ôren' (non comptae mansere comae 6, 48). And this view is confirmed by the approach of a *woman spinning* being hurtful (Sup. I, 135), for a witch is a *field-spinster*, i.e. a norn, a fate (p. 1088). So early as Pliny 28, 5: 'pagana lege in plerisque Italiae praediis cavetur ne *mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos*, aut omnino *detectos ferant*, quoniam adversetur id omnium spei, praecipueque frugum.' This again looks remarkably like the scrutinies held by our goddesses as to whether spindles were spun full or not, pp. 269. 274.

And it becomes to my mind doubly clear by the clergyman being put in the like case: a *consecrated priest,* says Berthold, is accounted of ill omen to such as meet him. I can produce another pretty old proof from Hincmar 1, 656: 'sunt etiam qui dicant, quando in venationem pergunt, quod obviam sibi non debeant habere *clericum;*' and more modern ones from Reginald Scott's Witchcraft (Lond. 1665 fol.) p. 114: 'if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a *frier* or a *priest,* they thought it so ill luck, as they would couple up their hounds and go hom, being in dispair of any further sport that day;' and from Pauli's Schimpf und Ernst (1555) cap. 358: 'there went an old dame to church betimes o' the day, and a *parson* meeting her, did cross herself some six times privily. Wherefore sign you yourself so at sight of me? quoth the priest; I hope I be not the devil. The woman answered, It hath never failed, an I came upon a *parson* betimes of a morning, but some untoward thing befell me the same day.'

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[1] Not true of Theodora at any rate, a bird who boded ill to the Byzantines: *ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός*, Procop. Hist. arc. 9 (ed. Bonn, p. 63).

When a company of people suddenly fall silent, they say 'there's a *priest* passing,' Nethl. 'er gaat een *predikant* voorby'; every one feels confounded at the omen. And in a better sense also it is said 'an *angel* flew across the room,' Ἑρμῆς ἐπεισῆλθε. In Switzerland they say, there is bad weather when a *clergyman* walks out (Tobler 436^{b}).

The sudden appearance of a holy man interrupts and breaks up worldly business. Those who met him were bound to shew respect; paganism may have prescribed in such a case the immediate performance of a certain formality. Christians would transfer the omen from the pagan to the christian priest; that of the heathen priestess or wise woman must have passed over to night-wives and witches, as the clerus admitted no women into its ranks.

Why should the meeting of a *blind* (or one-eyed) man, a *lame* man, a *beggar* be considered bad, and that of a *hunchback* or *leper* good? why that of a *walker* be interpreted less favourably than that of a *rider* (Sup. K, 129 Dan.), and that of a *water-bearer* also unfavourably (I, 257)? The blind man, the cloaked [rider] suggest Wuotan. It seems more intelligible why a man did not care to have his *sword handed him by a woman,* and why in the Edda the sight of *two warriors* is a pledge of victory.

To lovers the sight of the loved one must have been the welcomest of signs: 'swer si *des morgens* angesiht, den tac im niemer leit geschiht,' who upon her at morn doth look, that day no manner harm shall brook, Ms. 2, 23^b (see Suppl.).

Animal encounters have their origin in pastoral and hunting life, they are based on contemplation of nature and on fabulous opinions about the habits of beasts. Under this head there must be a vast deal in Slavic, Esthonian, Finnic and Lithuanian tradition waiting to be collected, which at present I must do without. Even Norse tradition seems not to have been accurately noted down in this respect. Saxo Gram. p. 321 says of Slavs, not of Northmen: 'ad varia quoque negotia profecturi ex *primo animalis occursu* votorum auspicia capiebant; quae si *laeta* fuissent, coeptum alacres iter carpebant, sin *tristia,* reflexo cursu propria repetebant.' The animals in question he omits to name. Important above all is that omen in the Edda of the *wolf howling and going onwards,* whom we may fairly take for the victory-boding beast of Oðinn (p. 668). All other evidence agrees with it, even the superstitions of to-day. Everywhere the brave undaunted *wolf,* the sight of whom awakens heart and hope, is set off against the timid cowardly *hare,* the type of faint heart and failure. Sigeb. gembl. ad an. 1143: 'obiit etiam Fulco rex Hierosolymorum; qui dum venationi insistens *leporem* insequitur *ex improviso* sibi *apparentem,* equus cui insidebat se super ipsum praecipitem dedit, ipsumque vita et regno privavit;' conf. Vintler, Sup. G, ll. 52—55. Again: 'on the way there chanced a *hare* to run across their road; the driver was troubled, and spake, This betokeneth no good. If contrariwise a *wolf* had crossed the road, it were a good sign,' Ettner's Unw. doctor 575-6; conf. Simplic. 2, 74. In Pauli's Schimpf u. E. cap. 138 (ed. 1550 cap. 135): 'in the morning they set forth, and being come wellnigh unto the wood, Master, quoth the man, there ran a *wolf* before us. The master said he had seen him well enough, it meant sheer luck.' In Albertini's Narrenhatz, Munich 1617. p. 96: 'superstitious numskulls are affrighted if a *hare cross the path* whereon they shall walk or ride, supposing that they shall on that day abide a misadventure.' Göz von Berlichingen in his Life p. 179: 'and as we came on, behold, a shepherd feeding his flock hard by, and for a *token,* there *fell five wolves upon the sheep,* that laid hold of them roundly, the which I gladly heard and saw, and wished them luck, and us too, and said to them, Good luck to you, good fellows, good luck everywhere, and I deemed it luck, for even so should we lay hold one of another.'[1] Here we have no angang proper described, but we can see the meaning that warlike nations at first put into it. *Wolf, stag, boar* and *bear* all stand exactly on a par in respect of their meaning, Sup. I, 128. The Norwegian thinks it a bad sign to meet a *hare,* a good one to meet a *bear* or a *wolf* (Danske's Reiseiagtagelser 1799. 2, 297): here the *bear,* whom the lay of the Raven's wedding calls the 'ypperste karl i skoven,' is justly placed before the wolf.[2] Roman accounts take no notice of the bear, but they do of the wolf; Pliny 8, 22 (34): 'inter auguria ad dexteram commeantium praeciso itinere, *si pleno id ore lupus fecerit,* nullum omnium praestantius.' Pliny also tells us the effect of a footprint of the wolf, if a horse treads on it: 'tanta vis est animalis, ut vestigia ejus calcata equis afferant torporem' 28, 10 (44); and 'rumpi equos, qui vestigia luporum sub equite sequantur' 28, 20 (81). Both John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois have '*occursum leporis* timere.' In addition to Berthold and Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 67), the Cod. pal. 341. 163ª has a passage in point. Feldbauer 240:

Dar zuo sâh wir einen *hasen* (hare),
der *widerfuor uns* (met us) *an dem weg;*
dô dâht ich deiz niht eben læg:
er tet uns den *êrsten aneganc,*
wan daz er snelle für mich spranc.

To Greeks and Romans apparently it could under favourable circumstances be a good omen (*αἴσιος*).[3] The *weasel* (*γαλῆ*) had a bad name among them: when it ran across the road, a public assembly was postponed (Potter 1, 746). Theophrastus in

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[1] Goethe recognised the poetic effect of these words, and incorporated them in his play.

[2] To Turkish travellers too the *wolf* is a grateful, the *hare* an unwelcome sign; Vienna Lit. zeitung 1816. p. 1257.

[3] Dio Cass. 62, 2 (Reim. 1006-7): *ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, λαγὼν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου προήκατο* (ἡ Βουνδουΐκα, a Britoness) *μαντείᾳ τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσίῳ ἔδραμε, τό τε πλῆθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν ἀνεβόησε.* Otherwise in Suidas: *φανεὶς ὁ λαγὼς δυστυχεῖς ποιεῖ τρίβους.* When the Germans under king Arnulf *started a hare* and chased it, they took Rome (Liutpr. 1, 8), but hare-hunting Danes were put to flight (Neocorus 1, 353; here Detmar puts a *cat,* 1, 164). To be licked by the hare was considered lucky: 'he weened a *hare* had licked him,' Trödelfrau 1682. p. 71.

Charact. 16 says, if a *weasel* run past you, you must not go on till some one else has paced the road, or you have picked up three stones from it. So Centonovelle cap. 31: 'quando l'uomo trova la *donnola*[1] *nella via*.' The *fox's* angang is interpreted variously: as bad in that passage from Ihre, as good by Lithuanian Superst. N, 9. Domestic animals, such as the traveller keeps on his own premises, and does not meet for the first time in the woods, are hardly available as omens: they are too common, too tame and dependent on man, to become significant to him. Yet they say, if on setting out early you meet *swine*, you will not be welcome where your steps are taking you; if *sheep*, you will. According to some, the wayfarer is a welcome guest if the *sheep* present themselves on his *right hand*, and unwelcome if on his *left*. The Etruscans, when a new magistrate rode into his province, observed what *horses* and *oxen* he fell in with (O. Müller 2, 118). Compare the prophesying by *horses* (p. 662-4), where it is true there is no chance meeting of the beast, yet stress is laid on his planting of the *right* foot or the *left*. An instance in Procop. de b. Pers. 2, 5 p. 172 ought to be added.

The observation of *birds* was even more minutely carried out than the encounter of quadrupeds, their free unhindered motion through the air being of itself enough to invest them with something marvellous and spirit-like. The Greeks had a comprehensive *οἰωνιστική* (Suidas sub v.), the Romans reduced *auspicia* and *auguria* to a system.[2] Boh. *ptako-prawiti* augurari, ptako-weštec augur, Pol. ptaszo-wieszczek. And heathens of the Teuton race equally regarded birds as messengers of the gods and heralds of important tidings (pp. 672, 763). 'What *bird* has brought that to your ears?' means: who made you believe that, put it into your head?[3] 'A *bird* sang that to me: jag hörde en *fogel* så sjunga, en *fogel* var här, och sade för mig det eller det,' said so and so, Ihre de superst. p. 51. Mod. Greek and Servian folksongs not unfrequently open with *birds* on the wing wheeling this way and that, holding a conversation, Wh. Müller's Saml. 1, 66. 102. 2, 164. 178. 200. Vuk 3, 326. Two *black ravens* (dva vrana gavrana) caw from the white tower, Vuk. 2, 151. The prophetic call of the *cuckoo* has been dealt with, p. 675 seq.; he too belongs to angang, his voice in the wood falls unexpected on the traveller's ear, a good sign if on the right hand, a bad if on the left. Pliny 30, 10 (25): 'aliud est *cuculo* miraculum, quo quis loco *primo audiat* alitem illam, si dexter pes circumscribatur ac vestigium id effodiatur, non gigni pulices, ubicunque spargatur;' conf. p. 1093 on cutting out footmarks. The Indic. superst. xiii. touches on *auguria avium.* Eligius, Sup. A: 'nec in itinere positi aliquas *aviculas cantantes* attendatis.' Birds whose encounter is prophetic are called *wegvögel,* way-fowl, Sup. I, 600, but by far the best qualified for the purpose were the *krimmende raubvögel* (rapaces aves) that won victories over other birds, and could predict the same happy event to heroes;[1] accordingly birds of prey play the foremost part in dreams. An anecdote in Procop. de b. Goth. 4, 20 (ed. Bonn. 2, 560-1) shews how early this superstition was domiciled among German nations: Hermigiscl king of the Warni, riding over field, noticed a bird (of what kind, is not said) on a tree, and heard him caw (so prob. a *raven* or *crow*). Understanding the song of birds, the king informed his followers that his death in forty days was foretold.[2] It is *igðor* up in the trees that prophesy to Sigurðr (p. 672); it is not settled whether they were swallows, or perhaps she-eagles? Dagr has a *sparrow* of understanding, Ingl. saga cap. 21. Several passages in the O. Span. Cid prove the observation of birds: 867 al *exir* de Salon mucho ovo *buenas aves;* 2376 con Dios e con *la vuestra auce;* 2379 con *la buen auce* (see Suppl.).

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[1] Our *fräulein*, Bav. *müemelein*, auntie, Schm. 2, 576, *schönthierle*, pretty beastie 3, 369; Span. *comadreja* (Reinh. ccxxiv), Dan. *den kjönne*, pulcra: all these names attest the sacredness of the animal. The Servians call her lazitsa, but address her by the caressing form laza: 'lazo lazitchitse!'

[2] Jul. Caes. Bulenger de auguriis (Graevii thes. 5).

[3] Westphal. 'wecker vaugel heft dik dat inner auren ehangen?' Slennerhinke p. 8.

And as it was a principal point with the ancients whether the flight was from *right* or *left,* Hartlib also (Sup. H, cap. 67) pronounces flying *on the right hand* lucky, on the *left* unlucky. He says the *eagle* must *fly pouch-side* of the traveller, i.e. on the side where his travelling-pouch hangs. Nowhere else do I find the

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[1] Frid. Guil. Schwarz de antiquiss. Apollinis natura, Berol. 1843, p. 16.

[2] Οὗτος ἀνὴρ (Ἑρμεγίσκλος) ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱππευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθημένην εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζουσαν. εἴτε δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεὶς εἴτε ἄλλο μέν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος μαντευομένης τερατευσάμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὡς τεθνήξεται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὕστερον...τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προῤῥήσεως ἡμέρᾳ νοσήσας πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε.

'ar' mentioned, but often the *mûsar*, in Hartman, Wirnt, Berthold; which Benecke's Dict. to the first-named makes a small bird of prey, the same that Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198^c) calls *muriceps* and explains as mouser. The poem of the Uebel wîp says 297—301 :

> Swenne ich nâch gewinne var,
> sô ist durft daz mir der *mûsar*
> *über die strâze vliege*
> und mich des niht entriege,
> ob ich ir niht enbringe ;

i.e. when I bring her nothing home, I have to make that my excuse. This bird's flying *over the road* is a favourable sign. In the Iliad 10, 274 a *heron* (ἐρωδιός) *flying on the right* brings luck. The *raven*, a bird of victory to the heathen, is spoken of in the Norse quotations p. 1123 as 'accompanying,' but nowhere else in connexion with angang; of the *crow* we hear plenty. It was lucky 'si *cornicula ex sinistra in dexteram* cantaverit,' Sup. C, p. 198^c; the same in Petr. Bles., except *volaverit* for cantaverit; Kolocz. 146 says of children brought up in luxury, who never felt the heavy hand of fate: 'si enwizzen *wannen die krân sint gevlogen*,' they never knew whence the crows flew. Walth. 94, 39: 'ein *unsæligiu* (unblest) *krâ* begonde schrîen.' MS. 2, 80: 'ez hab ein *swerziu krâ* gelogen,' told lies. On the other hand: 'alba solet *cornix* affectum scire tacentis,' Reinard. 2, 657. With the crow some would identify the *Martin's bird*, whose flight is so fraught with meaning in Peter of Blois and in Renart 10472, Reinaert 1047, Reineke 942. 'Sant *Martins vogel*, wol über her! daz ist nû gar der niuwe hant,' Liederb. der Hätzlerin 241^b; i.e. such careless calling upon St. Martin's bird is all the fashion now (conf. 'diu niuwe hant, alte hant,' Renner 2087—2111). A similar invocation in Reinaert: 'al heil, edel voghel, kêre herwaert dînen vloghel!' But Nemnich would make the falco cyaneus, a small bird of prey, the *Martin's bird*, Nethl. Martens vogel, Fr. l'oiseau S. Martin, Span. pajaro S. Martin; and this would fit in with John of Salisb.'s *albanellus* (Fr. haubereau), which expressly points to good hospitium, like Martin's bird in Reinhart [and Petr. Bles.]. I find no clue in the ordinary legends of the saint, to whom the bird must have brought something.[1] Again, in Vintler (Sup. G, l. 158) *sant Martis-vogel* betokens luck; this spelling would almost lead to the supposition that Martinsvogel was a corruption of '*Martis* avis,' which would be the woodpecker, the *Märzafülli* (p. 673). In Ls. 3, 543 we read: '*sant Martins vögalîn* diu machent mangen umbecreiz;' while another passage (which even Reinh. cxxvii borrows) in a Pal. MS. (Altswert 77, 19) has again '*Mertiss* vogelin,' and we are told it points the way to the Venus mount, which adds to its mythical character. Our nursery rhymes give *sunte Martens vögelken* a red coat or golden wing, but they are sung on Martinmas-eve, and bring us back to the saint. So I can come to no certain conclusion about this bird. Coming back to the *crow,* we have yet more credentials, old and new. Virg. Ecl. 9, 15: 'ante *sinistra* cava monuisset ab ilice *cornix.*' Poema del Cid 11. 12: 'ovieron la *corneia diestra,*' and '*siniestra.*' Renart 10473, speaking of the oiseau S. Martin: 'assez si le hucha à *destre*, et li oisiax vint à *senestre.*' The ancients do not leave out the raven, as Plaut. Aul. iv. 3, 1: 'non temere est, quod *corvus cantat* mihi nunc *ab laeva manu,* semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce *crocibat* sua.' Olaf Tryggvason, though a christian, noticed whether the *krâka* (crow) *stood on her right* or *left leg,* believing it to bode good or evil to him; whence his enemies nicknamed him *krâkubein.* The ON. *hûngr-krâka* foretold famine, and *illviðris-krâka* ill weather. Cento nov. ant. 32: 'segnor, je vit una *cornacchia* in uno cieppo di salice.' 'Or mi di, donna, *verso qual parte teneva volta la coda?*' 'Segnor, ella avea volta verso il cul.'[2] Conf. the charadrius or galadrot p. 853n.

The *woodpecker* too was a sacred bird, p.673-5; in Lindenblatt's Chron. p. 31: 'ir *speht* hatte *nicht recht* geflogen,' i.e. not from the right hand. To the Romans the screeching *parra* (greenpecker? peewit?) boded mischief: 'impios parrae recinentis omen ducat,' Hor. Od. iii. 27, 1; 'picus et cornix est ab laeva, corvus, *parra* ab dextera,' Plaut. As. ii. 1, 12. In Sweden the flight of the *lom* (a sort of heron, says Ihre) is presignificant, Sup. K, 94. To see the *magpie from the front* is a good sign, *from behind* a bad, I, 158. When you hear the first *swallow* in spring, stop at once (on your road), and from under your left foot dig a coal out of the ground, I, 217. G, l. 98 ; just as one cut out the footmark on the spot where one heard the cuckoo (p. 1129).[1] Ms. 2, 118^b. 208^b: 'nû jârlanc stêt vil hôch mîn muot, ich hôrte den süezen sanc von einer *swalwen dâ si fluoc,*' as she flew. Servants in Denmark notice whether they see the *stork* for the first time *flying* or *standing,* Sup. K, 130. With the *frog,* all depends on where you see him hop first, *on land* or *in water,* I, 237. To meet a *bald* or *plucked hen* was reckoned bad:

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[1] 'The story of S. Martin and the *martin* is in Bosquet 219. 220.'—Suppl.

[2] 'Me l' ha vaticinato la *cornacchia*, che la mia bella donna m' infinocchia,' is fooling me, Tommaseo 1, 224.

Enmi sa voie a encontrée
une *geline pielée,*
qui pasturoit en la charriere ;
a poi ne sen retorne arriere,
por ce quil *i entendoit sort ;*
à ses piez trueve un baston tort,
à la geline lest aler,
et ele sen prist à voler,
en son gelinois le maudist
'honte li viegne ! ' et il si fist.

Passages in Provençal poetry bearing upon angang are collected in Diez's Lives of the Troub. p. 22-3 ; they relate to the *raven, crow* and varieties of the falcon tribe (*albanel, gavanh*), the criteria being their *right* or *left* flight, their *going* or *coming,* their *crying* or keeping *silence :*

Los *destres* e'ls *senestres,* los *anans* e'ls *venens,*
d'*albanel,* de *gavanh,* d'autras auzels *ferens,*
del *corp* e de la *gralha,* los *crîdans,* los *tacens.*

Poes. der troub. p. 221. One would like to have fuller accounts of this bird-interpreting as practised in the Mid. Ages (see Suppl.).[2]

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[1] Quum *primo hirundinem videris,* hoc dic ter : 'rogo te, hirundo, ut hoc anno oculi mei non lippeant,' Fundgr. 1, 325.

[2] The heathen Arabs watched the flight of birds : *zeger* and *ljavet* are almost synonymous terms [meaning to expound], *zeger* being used when you throw a stone at the bird and shout to it ; if then he *flies* to your *right* hand, it is a good sign, if to your *left,* bad : *ljavet* is in general the interpretation of the names, the alighting and the cries of birds that you encounter. The science seems to culminate in the *knowledge of bird-language,* which from the time of Solomon has never fallen into oblivion in the East. The *raven* is reckoned a herald of misfortune (Rückert's Hariri 1, 591-2). Of Indian augury many examples might be given, for instance in the Râmâyana : 'hae *aves* tibi declarant horrendum periculum imminere,' Schlegel's Ind. bibl. 2, 225. A shepherd ascribed the discomforts that had

Our early ages appear also to have seen a meaning in the *overflight* of certain birds. Ms. 2, 1^b on the lord of the Dürings: '*ob ime* ein *adelar* (over him an eagle) z'allen zîten ist *mit hôhen flügen* gewesen.' *Eagles* spread their wings over famous heroes to shade them from the sun: when the heathen deputies came to Charles's hall,[1] they saw 'daz die adelaren dar zu gewenit wâren, daz sie *scate bâren*,' Rol. 21, 20. This evidently stands connected with the *eagle* over Charles's palace (p. 633), perhaps even with that in Oðin's hall, Sæm. 41^b. The *dove* hovering above was mentioned p. 148; supervenire and adumbrare are even Biblical language. By the side of 'drûpir iörn yfir' I place an important stanza of the Hâvamâl, Sæm. 12^b:

ôminnis hegri, sâ er yfir öl'ðrom þrumir,
hann stelr ge'ði guma;
þess fugls fiö'ðrom ec fiötra'ðr varc
î gar'ði Gunnla'ðar

(oblivionis ardea, qui super symposiis stridet mentemque hominum furatur; ejus avis pennis captus sum in domo Gunnladae). It is Oðinn that speaks, who, after intoxicating himself with full draughts of nectar at the house of Gunnlöð (p. 903-5), flies away in *eagle's* shape, 'ôminnis hegri' being a circumlocution for the divine bird. Hegri stands for hêgri, hrêgri, AS. hrâgra, OHG. heigiro, hreigiro, ἐρωδιός, one large bird instead of another. When Oðinn swilled the drink he had longed for, and enjoyed the favour of the fair giantess, he was fettered in eagle's feathers, i.e. put on the form of an eagle. How like the myth of Zeus, when, transformed into an eagle, he carries off Ganymede, and makes him pour out nectar for him! (see Suppl.).[2]

The Romans framed a system of augury of their own, not based on the flight of wildfowl, but on the domestic breed of poultry. The Greeks practised an ἀλεκτρυομαντεία by laying

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dogged him all day long to the single circumstance, that *early in the morning* a snake had crawled *across his path.*

[1] The description of this hall, and the impression its splendour must have made on the strangers, is wonderfully like what goes on in Asgard during Gylfi's visit, Sn. 2. Conf. the similar Lombard story in the Chron. Salern. by Arichis (Pertz 5, 479).

[2] Those words in the Hâvamâl, portraying the sublime rapture of immortality and likewise the art of poesy, Scand. commentators have taken for a description of ordinary drunkenness, against whose consequences we are warned in an Icel. poem entitled 'Ominnis hegri.'

grains of corn on the letters of the alphabet, and letting a *cock* pick them off. The Roman divination was simpler, according to the eager or sluggish *eating,* or *refusing to eat,* of *young fowls;* every legion had its pullarius, who bred, fed and guarded the fowls, and the consul held the augurium in his own house or tent: 'pullis regitur imperium Romanum, hi jubent acies' says Pliny 10, 24; and Procopius 1, 316 gives examples.[1] Yet they also observed the cries of the cock and hen: '*gallina cecinit*' is named amongst other bad omens for the bridegroom, in Terence's Phormio iv. 4, 30; the gloss of Donatus makes it mean 'superiorem marito esse uxorem.' And in our own superstition (I, 83; L, 23) a *hen that crowed* like a cock was held in horror. If a listener under the henroost heard the *cock* crow, the omen was happy, if the *hen* cried, it was sad (I, 105. 1055); the same thing applies to droppings of the *cock* and *hen* (I, 230). The *gander* too was supposed to prophesy (I, 847). The Esthonians distinguish between birds of *bare* and those of *shaggy foot* (M, 95).

Often it is neither the flight of wayside fowl, nor the chance encounter of a quadruped, but their appearing, their residing *in the dwellings* of men that bodes them weal or woe. The *swallow* (L, 9) and the *stork* are birds of luck (p. 672), one is glad to see storks build on one's roof (I, 215). He that first sees the stork fly in spring, is sure to go on a journey. To the Lettons the *titmouse* foretokened good, its name is *sihle,* and *sihleht* is to foretell (p. 683). A *weasel* or *snake* on the roof boded ill (Suidas sub v. Xenocrates); '*anguis* per impluvium decidit de tegulis,' Ter. Phormio iv. 4, 29. So does a *mouse* nibbling at your clothes, Sup. I, 184. *Raven, crow* or *magpie* on a *sick house* is unlucky, or of double meaning, I, 120. 158. 496 (see Suppl.).

There were *corpse-birds, birds of dole,* whose appearing signified actual or impending death. I suppose the turtle-dove with her melancholy wail to have been such to the Goths, by their calling her *hráivadubô* (corpse-dove); neither τρυγών nor turtur conveys this collateral sense, the bird merely mourns her lost mate;[2] tales about her are coll. in Aw. 3, 34. One of the way-birds, the *owl*, is also, and preeminently, in place here (Sup. I, 789; L, 8). Hartmann contrasts her flight *across one's path* with that of the mûsar, hers appears to have been baleful, as his was wholesome: Ms. 2, 174 says '*der iuweln fluc*' ne'er profited the world. Ovid Met. 5, 550:

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[1] Record of 788 in Marini no. 56, p. 94: 'et alia multa de vestra infidelitate cognovimus ad pullorum comtum' (r. cantum).

[2] The Langobards used to erect, among the graves in their churchyards, poles (perticas) in memory of their kinsfolk who had fallen in war or in foreign parts: on

> foedaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus,
> *ignavus bubo*, dirum mortalibus omen.

Here metamorphosis strikes in: the owl was an enchanted person, and *strix, strinx* ('*e tectis* strix violenta canat,' Tibull. i. 5, 52), *bruxa* signify at once the bird and the witch that fly by night (p.1039n.): '*ululae, upupae, bubones* toto anno *in tectis funebria* personantes,' p. 481n.; 'male ominatos *cantus ulularum*,' Chron. S. Trudonis p. 379. The OHG. *holz-rûna, holz-muoja, holz-muwo* (Gl. Flor. 988^b. 996^b. Sumerl. 10, 65. 27, 44. 29, 74) translate lamia, but they rather express wailing bodeful birds, or sprites (of both sexes), who are heard whispering and muttering (rounding, mooing) in the wood, p. 433. Hence also their name of *klag-muhme* (wailing aunt), *klag-mutter, klage-weib*;[1] in the Ackerman v. Böhmen, ed. Hag. p. 38, 'klagmut' should be amended 'klagmuoter.' In the Upper Harz *klagmutter, klagweib, klagefrau* mean a spectral yet winged being (Spiel's Archiv 2, 247); elsewhere it is called *weh-klage* (Sup. I, 863), *leich-huhn* (lich-hen), *grab-eule, todten-vogel,* and in Brunswick the *läpsch,* because of its lazy lingering flight (Brauns. anz. 1746. p. 236), '*ignavus* bubo,' which again calls up the old sense of *feig* (fey, moribundus). Other prognostics of death are, when the *raven belches,* Sup. G, l. 166, when a *cock* or *hen* trails straw, M, 77,

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the top of the pole was fixed the wooden image of a *dove*, whose head or beak pointed in the direction where the loved one lay buried; Paul. Diac. 5, 34 (not unlike the gyrating eagle on the palace-roof, p. 634). The *dove* represented the sorrowing kinsman who set up the pole. Precisely so the Servians of to-day make the *cuckoo* mourn for them (p. 682): on a wooden cross 6 feet high are carved as many *cuckoos* as there are survivors, esp. sisters, to mourn the dead. A girl who has lost a brother can never hear the cuckoo sing without breaking into a flood of tears; kukumene! is an interjection of grief, Montenegro, Stuttg. 1837. pp. 99. 100. All this setting up of doves and cuckoos brings to mind that of *horses' heads* on poles and roofs (p. 659), of *eagles* on roofs (p. 633-4).

[1] The Lausitz Wends call our wehklage *bože sedleško*, God's little chair [saddle?]: it appears either as a *white hen*, or as a beautiful *white child*, whose piteous wailing and weeping announces impending misfortune. In Bohemian too *sedlisko* is a seat and also the nightmare, perhaps because the demon mounts and rides (incubus).

when the *galadrot* (charadrius) turns his head away from the sick man (see Suppl.).

In the same way other animals give notice of a death: when a priest is called in, and his *horse* lowers his head, Sup. M, 35; when a black *ox* or *cow* has been killed in the house, I, 887, which points right back to ancient sacrifices. Also the *mole* burrowing in a human habitation 555. 601. 881, the *cricket* chirping 555. 600. 930,[1] the *woodworm* ticking 901, and *mice* nibbling at the clothes of a sleeper (see Suppl.).

Prophetic *ants*, Sup. K, 88; M, 99. A *spider* running toward you early in the morning is unlucky, but there are luck-spinners too, I, 134. Bosquet 219. A *swarm of bees* settling on a house betokens fire, I, 160 or some disaster,[2] from those in Drusus's camp downwards (Pliny 11, 18. Dio Cass. 54, 33. Jul. Obsequens de prodig. 1, 132). To Leopold of Austria they foretold the loss of Sempach fight in 1386: 'da kam ein *imb* geflogen, in d'linden er genistet hat, *an's herzogen waffen er flog* als do der selbig herzog wol für die linden zog: das *diutet frömbde geste,* so redt der gemeine man,' Wackern. leseb. 703. It is usually a *flight of grasshoppers* that announces *stranger guests* (Justinger p. 160, conf. 271), or else a good *take of salmon,* ib. 379. Other intimations of *coming guests* in Sup. I, 71-2-3. 889. 1028; K, 63 (see Suppl.).

Lifeless things, especially elements, can furnish omens. *Flames* standing on the *helmets* or *spears* of warriors were a prognostic of victory (*νίκης σύμβολον*). Sæm. 110$^{a.\,b}$ mentions a fire of this kind, but not what it signified: '*hyrr* leingi mun *â brodds oddi* bifaz'; and more plainly 151^{b}: '*af geirom geislar* (rays) stôðo.' Tac. Ann. 12, 64: 'signa militum arsere'; 15, 7: 'pila militum arsere.' Procop. de b. Vand. 2, 2: *τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο, καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμαὶ καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σφίσιν ἐδόκουν.* Greg. Tur. mirac. Mart. 1, 10: 'dum haec agerentur, duae puerorum *lanceae emissis flammis* lumen euntibus praebuerunt, ibantque *fulgurantes hastae.*' Before the battle of Prague in 1620 a *will o' wisp* settled on the general's flag, and was taken for a pledge of victory. This too is the Dioscuri's *flame,* that shone on the masts of ships, a saving sign under stress of storm. Further, *a candle that sneezes* (spits), a *brand that snaps over* (Sup. I, 889) betoken *guests* again; a candle that *goes out,* death (150); one that *burns roses* (forms wick-heads), good luck (252). To *spill oil* or *wine,* to *pour water* under the table, were signs to the ancients, one good, the other bad. The *table squeaking,* the *rafters creaking,* justified the gloomiest auguries (Dempster 3, 9). *Water sinking away* or *rising* indicated a death or famine (p. 590). When the *fire crackles,* or *salt is spilt,* it is a sign of strife, Sup. I, 322. 534-5. 64. Connect with this the mythic interpretation of the *bickering flame,* p. 242: the god is present in the flame as in the bodeful *thunder.* *Gaps* formed by earth tumbling in (*gropar*) prognosticate a death (M, 95); from the sound of the *first three clods* thrown into a grave, you can tell if others will die soon. A *splinter* splitting off the floor is a sign of guests (I, 71. 1032), a *hoop* bursting off a barrel, of death (I, 149) [1] (see Suppl.).

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[1] Sometimes these '*heimen* or *grillen*' mean prosperity to the house, Sup. I, 313. 609.

[2] 'Examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat,' Livy 21, 46. 'fastigium Capitolii examen apium insedit,' Tac. Ann. 12, 64.

The custom of sprinkling *barleycorns* on the hot fireplace, and watching if they *leap up* or *lie still,* I find in Burchard alone, Sup. C, p. 195^d, not in later authors; the Greek *κριθομαντεία* was different.

If in time of war *two ears* of corn were found *on one stalk,* it was thought to prefigure the return of peace;[2] on the contrary, for the *cherry-tree to blossom twice in the year* is a sign of war, Sup. I, 1116 (see Suppl.).

Other things, without any augury or sorcery being founded on them, are considered wholesome or hurtful: particularly things *found, begged* or *stolen.* Thus the *finding* of a four-leaved clover, of three whole grains in a baked loaf (Sup. I, 685), of a nail or tooth off a harrow 539. 636, which enable the possessor to discern witches (p. 1078), inventio acus vel oboli reservati (E, 11 r. b.), of a needle (K, 46) according as it turns head or point toward you (I, 235), of a felloe off a wheel 351, of a horseshoe 129. 220 (Hone's Yrbk 1600); a *begged* loaf 13, a ring made of begged silver pennies 352; a *stolen* duster 431, tie of a meal-sack 216, loaf 183-8, timber 1000 (Firmenich 2, 33), fishing-tackle (K, 48), weaver's knots. In finding things the favour of fortune comes into play; to things begged the labour, to things stolen the risk of acquisition lends additional value: three gulps of begged wine drive away the hiccup. And not only stolen property in a particular case, but a thief's hand (p. 1073n.), a spur made out of a gibbet-chain (I, 385), the gallows-rope itself (386. 921. G, l. 217), possess a peculiar virtue; conf. the origin of the gallows-mannikin, Deut. sag. no. 83 (see Suppl.).

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[1] Sueton. in Octav. 92: 'auspicia quaedam et omina pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi *calceus* perperam ac *sinister pro dextero* induceretur, ut dirum (like Wladislaus, p. 1123); si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte *rorasset,* ut laetum, maturique et prosperi reditus.

[2] Elisab. Charlotte of Orleans writes July 17, 1695: 'I am well weary of the war; pray, dear Louise, acquaint yourself if it be true that near Giessen they have found a stalk, which the Landgraf of Darmstatt hath in safe keeping, whereon are II ears, and if the like was found at the end of the 30 years' war.' It is also believed that lightning will not strike a house where a stalk with two ears is kept.

A *wheel* placed over the gateway brings luck (I, 307); is the notion of fortune's wheel (p. 866) or the sun's wheel (pp. 620. 701) at work here? *Splinters* of a tree struck by *lightning*, *coffin-splinters* are of use (I, 171. 208). The bridal bed must have only *dry wood*, but *off living trees*;[1] other fancies about the bridal bed 486-7. No picked up feathers, no hen's feathers should be put in a bed 281. 346. 593.

Choosing of days prevailed among the Jews (Levit. 19, 26. Deut. 18, 10), Greeks, and probably all heathens. Hesiod distinguishes between mother-days and stepmother-days, he goes over all the good days of Zeus, and all the bad, Ἔργα κ. Ἡμ. 765 (710) seq. Even if our names for the days of the week were imported from abroad (p. 127), yet native superstitions may have been mixt up with them from a very early time. 'Nullus observet' so preached Eligius, '*qua die* domum exeat, vel *qua die* revertatur, nullus ad inchoandum opus diem aut lunam attendat.' Hincmar 1, 656: 'sunt et qui *observant dies* in motione itineris et in inchoatione aedificandae domus.' Sueton. in Oct. 92: 'observabat et *dies* quosdam, ne aut postridie *nundinas* quoquam proficisceretur, aut nonis quidquam rei seriae inchoaret.' Pliny 28, 5: 'ungues resecari[2] *nundinis* Romanis tacenti, atque a

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[1] Odofredus in I. legata digest. de supellect. leg.: 'mulieres quando nubunt, volunt lectum de lignis siccis, sed de arbore vivente. sed in omnibus opinionibus suis fatuae sunt.'

[2] The nails in general are carefully watched: when they blossom, i.e. have specks of white, luck blossoms too. Much depends on which hand and what finger the blossoms are on (Reusch). Pliny touches more than once on the

digito indice, multorum pecuniae religiosum.' Even amongst us the superstition survives, that the nails should be cut on a particular day, Friday especially. A day that will bring misfortune is called *verworfen,* castaway, accursed (Sup. G, l. 51).[1] The ancient Germans appear to have kept *Wednesday* and *Thursday* holy above all, after their chief gods Wôdan and Thunar: the Indiculus has a section 'de feriis quas faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio.' Later on I find no day more superstitiously observed than *Thursday,* p. 191; also by the Esthonians, M, 59. One should not move to a new dwelling on Thursday, for birds carry nothing to their nests that day. On the other hand, *Wednesday* and *Friday* are counted *accursed witch-days,* I, 613. 658. 745; separately, *Wednesday* 567, *Friday* 241. 800. M, 59. 60. In records of witch-trials (see the Quedlinburg), the devils mostly appear on a *Thursday* or *Tuesday. Monday* too is a bad day for a fresh beginning (I, 771. 821). *Tuesday* is the time to begin journeys, to form marriage contracts.[2] Fat Tuesday, Swed. *fet-tisdag,* Fr. *mardi gras* favours enterprises (K, 79. 84). *Sunday* is lucky (I, 243. 634). The christians had, beside the great festivals, many days in the year marked by something special, above all *St. John's;* and almost every holy day stood in a particular relation to sowing, planting, cattle-breeding and the like. The Dan. *skjer-torsdag* in K, 168-9 is Maundy Thursday. Hardly ever was a nation so addicted to day-choosing as the christians in the Mid. Ages. The old heathen yule-days and solstices coincided with Christmas and St. John's (see Suppl.).

Closely connected with angang and day-choosing is another widely diffused superstition. As a prosperous day's work depended on a favourable encounter at early morning, as the escort of *wolf* or *raven* augured victory; so a tribe on its travels was guided to its place of settlement by a divinely missioned *beast.* Under such guidance colonies were founded, towns, castles,

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resegmina unguium 28, 23: 'e pedibus manibusque cera permixta ante solis ortum alienae januae affigi jubent . . . digitorum resegmina unguium ad cavernas formicarum abjici jubent, eamque quae prima coeperit trahere, correptam subnecti collo.' This significance of *nail-parings* is worth dwelling on, as our heathenism attributes to them even a greater, making the world's end depend upon them (p. 814, Naglfar).

[1] See passages in a Homily of the 8th cent. on this superst., Pertz's Archiv 6, 500-1.

[2] So in Bohemia and Moravia. Löwe's Denkw. u. reisen 72.

churches built; the rise of new establishments and kingdoms is hallowed by *beasts*, which, alien to all human ends, reveal the higher counsels of the gods.

Greek and Roman story teems with examples. A *raven* leads Battus and his emigrants to Cyrene (*κόραξ ἡγήσατο*, Callim. Hymn to Apollo 66). The Irpini are so called from irpus, the *wolf* that led them (Strabo 2, 208).[1] Flôki sacrificed for three ravens to shew him the way: 'hann fêkk at blôti miklu, ok blôtaði *hrafna þriâ, þâ er honum skyldu leið vîsa,* þvîat þâ höfðu hafsiglîngarmenn engir leiðarstein î þann tîma î Norðrlöndum,' Islend. sög. 1, 27; the divine bird supplied the place of a loadstone to seafaring men. It can hardly be a mere accident, that the guides oftenest named are just the *raven* and *wolf*, Wuotan's favourites, who presaged victory and weal.[2] In the Vita Severini c. 28 the *bear* acts as guide. The *hart* and *hind* also shew the way, as Procopius 4, 5 makes the *hind* do to Cimmerian hunters. So in Jornandes of Hunnish huntsmen: 'dum in ulteriori Maeotidis ripa venationes inquirunt, animadvertunt quomodo ex improviso *cerva* se illis obtulit, ingressaque palude, nunc progrediens nunc subsistens, *indicem* se *viae* tribuit . . . mox quoque, ut Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, *cerva disparuit*.' Here, instead of the hunter story, Sozomen (Hist. eccl. 6, 37) has one about a herdsman, though he knows the other one too: 'forte fortuna *bos œstro percitus* lacum transmittit, sequitur bubulcus; qui cum terram trans lacum vidisset, tribulibus suis nuntiat. Sunt alii qui dicunt *cervum* quibusdam Hunnis venantibus, cum per lacum ab illis fugeret, *monstrasse viam*.' Hunters the stag leads, herdsman the ox, heroes the wolf. But christians, even warriors, will rather have the deer for guide than the heathenish wolf: a *doe* shewed the Franks the ford of safety over the Main, Ditm. Merseb. ed. Wagn. 245; conf. Otto Fris. de gestis Frid. 1, 43 [and a *white hart* over the Vienne]. A raven the christians would have taken for a messenger of the devil. Flodoardus in Hist. Remens. 1, 24 (ed. Duac. p. 145) relates one instance of the eagle: 'conscenso silvosi montis vertice, dum circumferentes oculorum aciem de monasterii corde volutant positione, subito sublimi coelorum mittitur *aliger index* a culmine, per quem coelos scansuro locus in terris beato depromeretur Theoderico. Nam mysticus ales *aquila* spatiando gyrans et gyrando circumvolans locum monasterii capacem secans aëra designavit. Et ut expressius ostenderet quid Dominus vellet, unius fere horae spatio supra ubi ecclesia construi debuit lentis volatibus stetit; et ne hoc ab incredulis casu contigisse putaretur, ipso natali Domini die quadriennio continuo supervolando monasterium circumire, mirantibus plurimis, eadem *aquila* cernebatur.' A flying *hen* indicates the site of the future castle, Deut. sag. no. 570. Boundaries are hallowed by the running or walking of a *blind horse*, of a *crab*, RA. 86. Where the fratres Philaeni had won the new frontier by running, they let themselves be *buried alive* (hic se vivos obrui pertulerunt), Pomp. Mela 1, 7; the true reason of this ratification by burial will be made clearer presently. Remus had seen six, and Romulus *twelve vultures* fly auspicious at the founding of their city, Nieb. 1, 248 (see Suppl.).

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[1] A bird admonished the Aztecs in Mexico to emigrate, by calling down from the tree 'tihui!' i.e. let us go! Majer's Myth. taschenb. 1813. p. 63.

[2] A name of happiest augury for a hero must have been the OHG. *Wolf-hraban*, Wolfram, to whom the two animals jointly promised victory. And I notice that no animal's name but the wolf's is ever compounded with 'gang': *Wolfgang* (Lupambulus A.D. 1000, Act. Bened. sect. 6 pars 1 p. 3) designates a hero before whom goes the wolf of victory; a similar presage may lie in *Wisantgang* (Goth. Visandavandalareis, Procop. de b. Goth. 1, 18 *Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος*). The heathen faith alone opens to us the meaning of old names, which are no product of pure chance. There may be good reason for supposing that in the quaint old Spell XIV *Martin* and *Wolfgang* are invoked as shepherds' saints: one had sway over the crow (raven), the other over the wolf. Servian mothers name a son they have longed for, *Vuk*, wolf: then the witches can't eat him up. So Greeks and Romans thought *Λυκίσκος Lyciscus* a lucky name, OHG. glosses render lyciscus (the animal) wolfbizo, and there may have been a man's name *Wolfbizo*, one bitten by the wolf, and thereby protected. Vuk sub v. 'vuko-yedina' says, if one in the family way eats of a lamb or goat that the wolf has bitten to death, the babe she gives birth to will shew a wound, which they call *vukoyedina*, i.e. wolfbizo. They also cut the wolf's bite out of a lamb or goat, smoke-dry it, and preserve it as a sanative (see Suppl.).

We know how the old Northmen conducted their migrations and settlements under convoy of the gods. They threw overboard the *öndvegis-sûlur* or *set-stokkar* they had brought with them from the old country, and wherever these drifted to, there they landed. On such wooden posts was carved an image of the god in whom they trusted, and he pointed them to their new habitation; see esp. the Isl. sög. 1, 76-7. 234.

But not only did beasts point out a place for building on, it was often thought necessary to immure *live animals*, even *men*, in the foundation on which the structure was to be raised, as if they were a sacrifice offered to Earth, who bears the load upon her: by this inhuman rite they hoped to secure immovable stability or other advantages. Danish traditions tell of a *lamb* being built in under the altar, that the church might stand unshaken; and of a *live horse* being buried in every churchyard, before any corpse was laid in it (p. 844). Both lamb and horse occasionally shew themselves in church or churchyard, and the apparition betokens a death (Thiele 1, 136-7). Even under other houses *swine* and *fowls* are buried alive (1, 198). Superst. I, 472 says, a long spell of good weather can be brought on by walling-in a *cock;* and 755 a cow's 'running' be prevented by bricking up a *blind dog alive* under the stable-door. In time of murrain, the Esthonians bury one *head of the herd* under the stable-door, that Death may have his victim (M, 69).[1] When the new bridge at Halle, finished 1843, was building, the common people fancied a *child* was wanted to be *walled into* the foundations. To make Liebenstein Castle impregnable, there was *walled-in a child,* whom its mother for base gold had parted with; while the masons were at work, says the story, it sat eating a roll and calling out, 'Mother, I can see you,' then, 'Mother, I see a little of you still,' and when the last stone was let in, 'Mother, I see nothing of you now' (Bechst. Thür. sag. 4, 157; conf. 206). In the outer wall of Reichenfels Castle a *child* was built in alive: a projecting stone marks the spot, and if that were pulled out, the wall would tumble down at once (Jul. Schmidt p. 153). Similar stories in Spiel's Archiv. 1, 160 with the addition, that latterly, by way of symbol, empty *coffins* were built in. A rampart had to be raised round Copenhagen, but every time it was begun, it sank down again: so they took a little *innocent maiden,* set her on a chair before a table, gave her toys and things to eat; then, while she amused herself with eating and play, twelve master-masons built a vault over her, and amid music and loud minstrelsy threw up the wall, which hath stood unshaken to this day (Thiele 1, 3). Why they kept the child playing and happy, and prevented her crying, I have explained at p. 46. It is the vulgar opinion in Greece, that whoever first goes by, where they are laying the foundation-stone of a new building, shall die within a year; the builders, to avert the calamity, kill a *lamb* or a *black cock* on the stone, just as at Frankfort they made a *cock* run across the new-made bridge, DS. no. 185. At Arta a thousand masons wrought at a bridge: all that they raised in the day rushed down at night. Then sounded the archangel's voice from heaven: 'unless ye *dig thereinto a child of man,* the masonry shall not stand; yet no orphan nor stranger shall ye bury, but the master-builder's wife.' When the wife came to the workmen, the master pretended his ring had dropt into the foundation, and the woman offered to fetch it out, then swiftly they set to work to *wall her in;* dying, she pronounced a curse on the bridge, that it should tremble like a flower-stalk (Tommaseo's Canti pop. 3, 178). Still more touching is a Servian legend on the building of Scutari: For three years 300 masons laboured in vain to lay the foundations of the fortress; what they built by day, the vila tore down at night. At last she made known to the kings, that the building would never hold till two *born brothers* (or sisters) *of like name were put into the foundation.* Nowhere could such be found. Then the vila required, that of the three wives of the kings she that carried out food to the masons the next day should be *walled up in the ground.* When the consort of the youngest king, not dreaming of such a decree, brings out some dinner, the 300 masons drop their stones around her, and begin to wall her in; at her entreaty they left a small opening, and there she continued for some time to suckle her babe, who was held up to her once a day (Vuk 2, 5). Once, when the Slavs on the Danube purposed founding a new city, the heads of the people, after the old heathen wont, sent out men early before sunrise, to take the *first boy they met* and *put him into the foundation.* From this child (Serv. diète, Boh. djte, Russ. dityá pl. dèti, Pol. dziecię) the town took its name of *Detinets* (Popov's Slav. myth. p. 25). And the history of Merlin pp. 66—72 relates how, king Vortigern casting to build him a strong tower, it did alway crumble down or it were accomplished; and the wizards spake sentence, that the tower should in no wise be achieved, ere that the *groundstone* were *wet with a child's blood,* that was of woman born, but of no man begotten. May not we also connect with this superstition some words in a sermon of Berthold p. 167? 'und wizze, wanne dû kint gewinnest, daz der tiuvel reht einen *torn mit den kindern* hât ûf dich *gemûret*,' has with the children reared a very tower on thy back (see Suppl.).

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[1] Und hadden de delver sich mit groten unkosten an holt, balken, struk (brushwood) daran versocht, den ort to dempen, konden nicht; de olden seden, 'Animam quaeri, men scholde ein *kat* edder *hunt darin drenken.*' Als diser gebleven, wert it mit der lichte togeslagen (easily stopt up), Neocor. 2, 340. Conf. in chap. XXXVI. *inserting the shrewmouse into the ash.*

Sect. 23 of the Indiculus superst., 'de *sulcis circa villas*,' leads us to infer that round newly founded cities they ploughed furrows, whose sacredness was a safeguard against the entrance of evil. Precisely such was the Etruscan usage acc. to Varro: 'oppida condebant in Latio, Etrusco ritu, multa, id est, junctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent munita; terram unde exscalpserant fossam vocabant, et introrsum factum murum, postea quod fiebat orbis, urbs.' The bull and cow were white, Ov. Fast. 4, 825 on the pomoerium of Romulus:

> Inde premens stivam signavit moenia sulco,
> *alba* jugum *niveo* cum bove vacca tulit.

In the Comitium a vaulted chamber was *built*, and stocked with the *firstlings of all natural products* that sustain man's life, Fest. sub v. mundus. Nieb. 1, 251.

Some superstitious rites, apparently of great antiquity, are practised on such different occasions in early and in recent times, that it is hard to make out their meaning. In Burchard, Sup. C, 195^c, a *waggon is divided in two*, and a corpse on the bier is carried between; in I, 929 a girl suspected of pregnancy is made to pass through a *harvest-wain* so divided. Waggon and plough are reckoned holy implements, in the midst of which no cheating or juggling can subsist.

About walking through a *cutting in the ground* and the *cleft of a tree*, see next chap., under Remedies. It is with a different view that women creep *through the stretched membrane* in which a newborn foal has lain, or *through a horse-collar*, Swed. sela, Sup. K, 167.

Again, one is not to *stride over another* person (Sup. I, 45), nor *slip through under the pole* of a vehicle 618; nor should women in a certain condition mount *across the pole or shafts* 729. 925; they should also avoid having anything *hanging* or *tangled above them* 688. 933. This resembles the rule, not to *turn wood* in the Christmas week (Sup. K, 134), nor beat cattle with *turned* *wood* 58, lest it cause similar twistings and convulsions in man or beast.

I close with a few words on *interpretation of dreams.* To the A. Saxons *dreám* meant jubilum, ecstasy (p. 901); so is the OS. '*Drohtines drôm*' = heaven, Hel. 54, 11. 63, 14. 85, 21 to be taken as 'Dei jubilum, gaudium,' as opposed to 'manno, liudo *drôm*' (p. 795), the transitory dream of this world. For somnium stood the AS. *swefen,* OS. *suebhan;* the ON. svefn is simply somnus, and sofna to fall asleep, MHG. entsweben is sopire, lull to sleep, which again has to do with OHG. suëp (aer), so that sleeping and dreaming properly mean trance or ecstasy, the spirit's soaring away into the air (conf. arprettan, p. 1083). This is closely conn. with Lat. sopor, and sompnus, somnus, somnium. Both OHG. and ON. seem to confine their *troum, draumr* to the sense of somnium. The Gothic word for *ὄνειρος* (dream) is lost to us. Instead of our proverb 'träume sind *schäume,*' dreams are foams, I have found a more truly rhyming 'träume sind *gäume*' (Ettner's Chemiker 469 and Apoth. 132), i.e. observations (MHG. goume, troume, but schûme).[1] Even antiquity did not believe in all dreams, only in difficult ones, dreamed at particular times or places. To interpret dreams is in OHG. *antfristôn,* N. Boeth. 51, more simply *sceidan,* MHG. *scheiden,* Diut. 3, 97, *bescheiden,* Walth. 95, 8. Nib. 14, 2. 19, 2; *traumscheider* meant soothsayer. The AS. had swefn *reccan,* ON. draum *râða* (see Suppl.).

Dreams are foretokenings of the future, rising out of images and impressions of the past; they and the figures in them might be called a writing or rune of destiny (p. 406n.), as Wolfram finely says of Parzival 245, 8: 'sus wart gesteppet im sîn troum mit swertslegen umbe den soum,' so was embroidered his dream with sword-strokes round the border. Like the birds, they are *messengers of the gods,* and publish their commands; but other daemonic beings send them too: 'ir *boten* künftigiu leit (coming sorrows) sanden im slâfe dar,' Parz. 245, 4. On p. 905-6 we had examples of the inspiring gift of poesy being imparted in a dream. As *birds* play the leading part in angang, as dreams themselves are birds and come flying, we can understand why even the subject-matter of a dream is so commonly a vision of *birds;* in some few dreams of this kind we may perhaps detect an echo of ancient myths. Kriemhild dreamt that two *eagles* caught and mangled (erkrummen) before her eyes the *wild falcon* she had reared; so Iðunn (the *swallow?*) was seized by the *eagle* Thiassi, and Oðinn the divine *heron* pursued by the eagle Suttûngr. Such images filled the fancy of the olden time: a couple of dancers in the Rudlieb 8, 49 are thus elegantly described: 'ille velut *falco* se girat, et haec ut *hirundo.*' In Roth. 3845: 'mir troumite nâhte von dir, wie ein *valke* quâme gevlogin, und vuorte dich widir over mere.' In Sv. forns. 2, 64: 'jag drömte att min herres *falkar,* de spände mig med sina klor, de togo mitt hjerta utur mitt bröst, och gjörde sig deraf ett bo.' And there are disquieting dreams of *bears, wolves, boars* p. 921-3 (see Suppl.).

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[1] Yet even in Diut. 3, 96: 'waz iuwe wâre *gescûmet,*' i.e. dreamt. And schaum is backed by a still worse rhyme: 'träume sind *fäume*' (Kirchhofer's Sprichw. 342) for *feime.*

Much depends on the time when and the place where dreams are dreamt. They are truest after midnight, toward morning: 'post noctem mediam, quando sunt somnia vera,' Ecbas. 227. Eracl. 3723; ghosts appear just before dawn (a case on p. 894). Yet Herzeloide dreams 'umbe einen mitten tac,' Parz. 103, 25.

As it is a grave question with newly married folk, whose light shall burn longest at the wedding feast, which shall first fall asleep on the wedding night, or get up from the bridal bed (Sup. I, 15. 485. 717; M, 17); so the *dreams* and *visions* of the *wedding night* are prophetic (see Childerich's in Aimoin 1, 8). Such a dream of Hvîtastierna in Gothland, which acquaints her with her posterity, is mentioned in the Gutalag p. 106. No less important is the *first dream in a new house* (Sup. I, 123; K, 61), but you must have counted all the rafters before going to sleep. King Gorm is admonished to build a house on a spot where none had stood before, and therein to sleep and dream (Fornm. sög. 11, 4–6; conf. Saxo Gram. 179)[1]; whereas Halfdan the black (Saga cap. 7) is advised to dream in a *pigstye,* and the dream will come true. Of dreaming in a *new bed,* Fornald. sög. 1, 367. Again, a dream on *New-year's night* comes true (Sup. I, 528). In Reinh. 88, when Chanteklêr has told his ingeniously constructed dream, it is added: 'manec troum erscheinet sich über siben jâr,' comes to pass in 7 years' time. A great many dream-interpretations, which the common people hold firmly to this day, are to be found in the very earliest times (see Suppl.).

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[1] 'You've ideas like an *old house*' we say on the contrary to one whose remarks are not to the point.

Certain dreams are so deeply rooted in Teutonic legend, that we must place their origin far back, e.g. that of the treasure which one is to be informed of *on the bridge*[1] (see Suppl.).

Like dreams and angang, some other of the customs we have noticed evidently rest on the strength of first and fresh impressions.

We are glad to be rid of this heap of superstition; yet, while it filled the lives of our forefathers with fear, it ministered some comfort also.

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[1] Agricola's Sprichw. 623. Praetorius's Wünschelr. 372. Abrah. a S. Clara's Judas 1, 4. Ettner's Ung. Apoth. p. 132. Musäus's Volksm. 4, 65. R. Chambers's Fireside stories p. 12, which prove the legend rife in various parts of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SICKNESSES.

By the anger of the gods diseases are decreed, yet also their mercy reveals healing remedies to man. All deities can be healers, they seem to give their names to the herbs and flowers whose healing virtues they make known. With the Greeks it is chiefly *Apollo* and his sister *Artemis* from whom this knowledge is derived; our *Wuotan*, where he touches Apollo rather than Hermes, represents him in the capacity of healer too (p. 149); with Artemis and *Athena* skilled in leechcraft, we may here match our *Holda* and *Frouwa*, replaced by *Mary* in later legend. A special god of physic, *Asklepios* or *Aesculapius*, is Apollo's son and a mere emanation of him. Of divine heroes, those who practised this art were *Herakles*, *Prometheus* the giver of wholesome fire, and *Chiron*: to set by the side of these, we have the Norse *Mîmir*, our own *Wate* and *Wieland*, after whom a healing plant Wielands-wurz is named, and whose skill in smith-work resembles that of Prometheus; conf. chap. XXXVII.

As Homer celebrates *Paeon's* and *Machaon's* knowledge of medicines and wounds, so the Gudrunlied says of *Wate*:

> Si hæten in langer zîte dâ vor wol vernomen (long known),
> daz Wate *arzet* wære von einem *wilden wîbe*:
> Wate, der vil mære, gefrumete manegem an dem lîbe.

The wild wife, who doctored (made a doctor of) this far-famed Wate, might well be a *wise-woman*, a *half-goddess* (p. 431-2). So in Scotch tradition (R. Chamb. p. 34) the mermaid points out healing herbs. Several such women appear in the Edda. *Eir* belongs altogether to the circle of goddesses: 'hon er *læknir beztr,*' best of leeches, Sn. 36. I connect her name with the Goth. áirus nuncius, AS. ârian, ON. eira parcere, and OHG. Irinc (Goth. Eiriggs?); *Eir* would be the indulgent helpful goddess and errand-woman. But another passage, Sæm. 111ª, significantly places her among the handmaidens of wise *Menglöð* (p. 423-4):

> *Hlîf* heitir, önnur *Hlîfþursa,*
> þriðja *Thioðvarta,*
> *Biört* ok *Blîð, Blîður, Frîð,*
> *Eir* oc *Örboða.*

Some of them seem to be *giantesses,* Hlîfþursa and Örboða, who in Sn. 39 is wife to Gŷmir, and these fit in with the notion of *wild wife;* but the majority are transparent personifications of moral ideas, *Frîð* the mansueta or parca (Goth. freidian parcere), *Hlîf* tutela or parca, from hlîfa parcere, which comes to the same thing as *Eir,* and throws a welcome light on the Latin *parca* itself. All the more right have we now to place *Biört* in immediate connexion with *Berhta,* as I conjectured on p. 272n., and *Blîð* with *Holda:* these healing women lead us on to wise women, divine women. And that the gift of healing *is* in question here, is plain from the preceding and not less important strophe:

> *Hyfjaberg* þat heitir, en þat hefir leingi verit
> siukom ok sâri gaman:
> heil verðr hver, þôtt hafi ârs sôtt,
> ef þat klîfr kona.

I translate it: Hyfjaberg this rock is called, and has long been to the sick and to wounds a solace; whole becomes any woman, though she have a year's sickness, if she climbs it. So that the rock is a holy place, dedicated to Menglöð and her maidens, where every sick woman that climbed it has found relief. The exact meaning of Hyfjaberg, or as some read it, Hyfvja-, Hyfaraberg, I cannot yet determine; enough for us, that such mount of healing accords admirably with the conception one has to form of the wise-women of olden time: prophetesses, Parcae, Muses, all are imagined dwelling on mountains. *Menglöð* may without more ado be taken to mean *Freyja* (p. 306-7), in attendance on this highest goddess would stand the other maidens of like nature; and to the art of healing we have a right worshipful origin assigned. Now too it is conceivable, why *Brynhildr,* the valkyr dwelling on her mountain, had 'lif með lækning' (pharmaca cum medela) ascribed to her in Sæm. 147ᵇ:

she is a wise woman skilled in magic, a pharmaceutria, herbaria, and moreover understands the binding up of wounds (undir dreyrgar yfir binda, Sæm. 220^b), like *Hiltgund* in Walthar. 1408. Oddrûn lends her aid to women in travail, Sæm. 239, and the Tristan has made Isote's knowledge of physic famous. At medicinal springs, by mineral waters, appears the *white lady* with the snake (p. 588n.), the beast of sovereign'st healing power, servant to Aesculapius himself. The Servian *vila* too is a physician, and heals wounds for a high fee, Vuk no. 321 [so the Bulgarian *yuda* or *samodíva*, Aug. Dozon's Bolgarski pèsni no. 3, etc.].

We see from all this, that medical science in heathen times was half priestly, half magical. Experience and higher culture gave the priests a knowledge of healing powers in nature, from the sacredness of their office proceeded salutary spells, the use of remedies was backed by sacrifice, nay, great cures and the averting of pestilence could only be effected by sacrifice. Thus all through the Mid. Ages we find the christian priests also possessors, above other men, of medicine and the art of using it. Yet some part of the old pagan science passed into the hands of wise men and women, who by retaining superstitious rites, and misusing real remedies, incurred the reproach of sorcery. Like witchcraft (p. 1038-9), and for the same reasons, the old ways of healing fell mainly into the hands of women (see Suppl.).

A physician was called in Goth. *lêkeis*, OHG. *lâhhî*, AS. *læce*, ON. *læknir*, *læknari*,[1] Swed. *läkare*, Dan. *läge;* the Engl. *leech* has sunk into the sense of peasant or cattle doctor. The MHG. *lâchenære*, *lâchenærinne* meant sorcerer, sorceress (p. 1037), though still perhaps implying the use of remedies, as in 'lâchenen und fürsehen,' Superst. D, 38 r., and *lecken*=healing, Quedlinb. witch-trials p. 77. From Teutonic nations the word must in very early times have spread to Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns: O.Sl., Boh., Russ. *lèkar'*, Serv. *lièkar*, Pol. *lekarz*, Lith. *lekorus*, Fin. *lääkäri;* or can we have got it from the Slavs? I have tried to shew a Teutonic root for it no. 300, a Slavic might be harder to find: to Sl. liek, lek (remedium) answers our OHG. lâhhan. Other names are taken from the notion of helping, bettering, as *bêtan*, böten (mederi p. 1036) ; ON. grœða (sanare), grœðari (chirurgus, medicus), from grôð (growth, getting on, gain) ; MHG. heilære (medicus), Karl 45. Our *arzt* appears already in OHG. as *arzât*, O. iii. 14, 11, MHG. *arzet*, M.Nethl. *ersetre*, Diut. 2, 223^a; O.Fr. *artous, artox;* the root seems to be the Lat. ars, though arzât cannot come straight from artista.[1] The Prov. *metges*, Ferabr. 547. 1913, *mege* (Raynouard 3, 173), O.Fr. *mires, mirre* are from medicus.[2] The ON. 'lif' imputed to Brynhild is better spelt *lyf*, being the Goth. *lubi* (which I infer from lubja-leisei, herb-leasing = φαρμακεία, Gal. 5, 20), OHG. *luppi*, MHG. *lüppe ;* from the sense of permissible, healing φάρμακον, arose that of poisonous, magical, just as our *gift* meant at first donum, then venenum. The luppari (veneficus) has a lupparâ (venefica) to match him, the herb-man his herb-woman, *herbaria, pharmaceutria*. In Saxo Gram. 16 a maiden cures wounds, at 25 he calls Wecha *medica ;* and Thorlacius in Obs. 4, 279 has collected other instances of women healers.[3] Amongst our peasantry there are *old women* still who profess 'böten,' stroking, pouring, and charming by spells (Sup. I, 515. 865). It is remarkable that healing spells can only be handed down from *women to men*, or from *men to women* (I, 793; conf. p. 1107) : we have seen how so ancient a worthy as Wate had learnt his art of a *woman*. It is principally *shepherds* that now pass for cunning mediciners (Sup. L, 35 French); formerly any kind of *herdsmen* and *hunters :* 'bubulcus, subulcus, venator,' C, int. 43. In the Mid. Ages *itinerant leeches* went about the country cheapening their drugs and skill to the people, usually attended by a man who played amusing tricks ; for proofs see Rutebeuf's Diz de l'erberie (Méon nouv. rec. 1, 185—191 ; œuvres 1, 250–9 ; simil. in 1, 468—477), and the Easter play in Hoffm. Fundgr. 2, and in O. Boh. in Hanka 7, 198. These vagrant herbalists, quacks, lithotomists, are a mine of information on the methods of popular leechcraft. Greg. Tur. 9, 6 mentions a conjuror and doctor Desiderius, who wore a coat of goat's hair; the O. Slav. *bali* means physician, but strictly conjuror, Glagolita 67^b (see Suppl.).

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[1] 'Læknis hendur'; 'læknir vera, ok kunna sâr at siâ,' Sæm. 194-5^a.

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[1] '*Temperîe* (medicine) ûz würze kraft,' Parz. 643. 23. 'Lâhhinônto *temperando*,' conf. Mous. 393. [Arz-ât, ers-etre are prob. from ἀρχ-ιατρός : the Greek prefix arch- becomes erz- in German words.—Trans.]

[2] The Ed. of the Garin 2, 89 would derive mire from the Arabic emir ; but a Fr. *r* is often developed out of *d*, *t*, as lerre latro, beurre butyrum [these by assimil. with an *r* already present].

[3] Pomp. Mela 3, 6 of Gaulish women : 'putabantur ingeniis singularibus praeditae, et sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt' ; whereas at Rome we find women forbidden to treat certain diseases.

Crescentia, a pious persecuted saint, receives from Peter or Mary, who fill exactly the place of pagan gods, the gift of healing all diseases, Kolocz. 267, or acc. to the O. Fr. poem (Méon n. r. 2, 71-3) only leprosy. She herself might pass perfectly for a wise woman, and is actually charged with being a sorceress. Queens too in ancient times are credited with power to quench certain maladies by their touch: in Rother 32^b. 33^a the queen strokes the lame and crooked with a stone; and a similar virtue was ascribed to hereditary sovereigns of France and England (Hone's Yrbk p. 799). If a woman has had seven sons in succession, the *seventh* can heal all manner of hurt (Sup. I, 786); by Ettner's Hebamme 906, Maulaffe 699, his touch cures wens at the throat. French Sup. L, 22 makes it the *fifth* son. There is no end of superstitions about this seventh or fifth son: in E. Friesland they say he becomes a *walrider;* does that mean one who rides to the foughten field? conf. wel-recke, p. 418n. What seems a counterpart of it is, that when 7 girls running are born of one marriage, one of them becomes a *werwolf*, I, 1121. A child that has never known its father is able to disperse tumours (fondre les loupes), L, 21. A firstborn child, that has come into the world with teeth, can cure a bad bite, K, 29. 37. All this borders closely on the power to bequeath or transfer the gift of prophecy and the art of weather-making, pp. 1088. 1107: the healing art was as much sacerdotal as the business of fortune-telling (see Suppl.).

The distinction between *sacrifice* and *healing* would perhaps be stated most correctly by saying, the one was aimed at sickness threatened, the other at sickness broken out. Preventive sacrificial rites have no doubt been preserved longest in pastoral life: herdsmen made their cattle run through the flames, once a year,[1] or whenever pestilence approached. But sacrifices were also performed in severe cases of actual sickness.

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[1] One Roman rite I quote from Cato de re rust. 83: *Votum pro bubus*, ut valeant, sic facito. *Marti Silvano* in silva interdius, in capita singula boum votum facito, farris adorei libras iii. et lardi p. iv s. et pulpae iv s., vini sextarios tres. Id in unum vas liceto conjicere, et vinum item in unum vas liceto conjicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. *Mulier* ad eam rem divinam *ne adsit, neve videat* quomodo fiat. Hoc votum in *annos singulos*, si voles, licebit vovere.

Our medical learning of today, as it did not proceed from the people, has by degrees banished nearly all our native names for diseases, and replaced them by Greek or Latin words. But as those names often bring us face to face with old-world notions about sickness and its cure, it will be needful to present at any rate the most important.

In the Mid. Ages *krank* has only the sense of debilis, infirmus, OHG. *wana-heil,* not of aeger, for which the term was *siech,* Goth. *siuks,* OHG. *sioh ;* hence morbus was expressed not by krankheit, but by *sucht,* Goth. *saúhts,* OHG. *suht,* ON. *sôtt,* whereas now we attach to sucht the moral notion of hankering, and only retain its old meaning in a few compounds such as schwindsucht, gelbsucht, etc. There is the same relation between the ON. *þrâ* (desiderium, aegritudo animi) and *lîkþrâ* (lepra), conf. Sw. trå, helletrå, Dan. traa, helletraa, DV. 2, 180. General words, expressing also the bodily pain of sickness, are OHG. *suero,* MHG. *swer,* and OHG. MHG. *wê, wêtago, wêtage* (like our *siechtage*). But a sick man is also called in OHG. *bettiriso* (clinicus), O. iii. 14, 67; MHG. *betterise,* Parz. 502, 1. 813, 16; AS. *beddrida* bedridden: a term specially used of men enfeebled by age, 'der alte betterise,' who can no longer rise out of bed. In Scand. this painless ailment of great age was called *Ana sôtt,* from king Ön or Ani, who had secured long life by sacrificing his sons (p. 46), and at last lived on milk like a child again, Yngl. saga cap. 29 (see Suppl.).

It was christian to hold sickness a *dispensation of God,* heathenish to see in it the handiwork of sprites, and something *elvish.* Accordingly it is *personified :* it comes upon, surprises, attacks, seizes, takes hold of, overpowers man: *δαίμων ἐπέχραε, στυγερὸς δέ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων,* Od. 5, 396 [the daemon afflicts; in the next line the gods heal]. In the Hel. 92, 1: 'mid suhtium bifangan, bedrogan hebbiad sie *dernea wihti.* thea *wrêdon* habbiad sie giwittiu benumune;' and in Versus Hartmanni (Canisius ii. 3, 203: 'fugit pestis ab homine, quam *daemon saevus* miserat.' No wonder that in the Edda an oath is exacted from *diseases,* as from living creatures, to do no harm to Balder, Sn. 64. Like death or destiny (p. 406), pestilence carries off: 'suht farnam,' Hel. 125, 20; in the Swed. oath 'trå mig!' we must supply 'tage' take: ita me morbus auferat! In the Cod. Vindob. th. 428 no. 94 I find the phrase 'eine suht ligen, zwô suht ligen,' to lie one sickness, two s.; 'sich in die suht legen,' lay oneself (lie down) into, Reinh. 302. 320.

This daemonic nature of diseases makes people call them by friendly *flattering names* to keep them away, just as they do to horrible uncanny beasts, and avoid uttering their right name; they call a disease *the good, the blessed,* Schm. 2, 87. 3, 212. 222, and the pestilence is addressed as *gossip.* There will be more examples to quote in speaking of particular diseases (see Suppl.).

Fever, OHG. *fiebar,* AS. *fefor;* Goth. *heitô,* Mat. 8, 15 and *brinnô,* Mk 1, 31. Lu. 4, 38, both for *πυρετός,* and both fem.; OHG. has no corresp. hîzâ, prinnâ. The Swiss have *hitz* and *brand* (Tobler 74ᵃ), and the AS. *âdl,* Beow. 3469. 3692 seems to be burning fever, from âd ignis, so that the OHG. would be eital. An OHG. *rito* masc., Gl. Mons. 391, from rîtan to ride, not from rîdan to writhe, as fever does not twist like the cramp; and the AS. word should be spelt *rida,* not wriða; Lye has *rideroð* febris. It is imagined as an *elf* who *rides the man* with rein and spur: 'der *alp zoumet* dich,' bridles thee; 'der *mar rîtet* dich,' p. 464; ON. '*mara trað* hann,' Yngl. s. cap. 16; 'der *rite* bestuont in,' stood upon him, Alex. 2208. In En. 10834 and Eracl. 3166 *suht, fieber, rite* are named side by side, are therefore distinct; in En. 10350 '*suht* und *rite*'; 9694 '*suht* und *fieber*'; 9698 'diu minne tuot kalt und heiz mêr dan der *viertage rite,*' love makes hot and cold like the quartan ague. In curses: 'habe den *riden* und die *suht* umb dînen hals!' about thy neck, Morolt 715. 'die *suht* an iwern lôsen kragen!' your unruly neck, Reinh. p. 302-12. 'nu muoze der *leide ride* vellen!' sore fever fell him, Karlmeinet 110. *Ride* seems to be especially ague, which is sometimes called *frörer,* Sup. I, 183; though we also hear of 'ritten frost' and 'ritten hitze.' Imprecations common in the 15-16th cent. are: 'may the *ritt* shake you, the *jarritt* (yearlong fever), the *gæhe rite* (swift r.) be at you!' 'May the *ritt* shake you to your bones,' Garg. 96ᵃ. 'Ins *ritts* namen habt rhu,' H. Sachs iii. 3, 10ᶜ. They said: 'whence brings him the *ritt?*' the same as the devil, p. 1113. Boner's well-told Fable 48 deserves attention: the *rite* appears in person (in what shape ?), and holds a dialogue with the flea. It is plainly [not ?] of Mid. Age invention; Petrarch epist. 3, 13 relates it of the spider and the gout, and calls it anilis fabella. In Bavaria fever is personified as *beutelmann,* shaker, Schm. 1, 219; a spell against fever speaks of 72 fevers. Russian superstition supposes *nine sisters* who plague mankind with fevers; they lie chained up in caverns, and when let loose, pounce upon men without pity (Götze's Russ. volksl. p. 62). My explanation acquires certainty from the Esthonian phrase '*ayan walged, ayan halli,*' I ride the white, I ride the gray, i.e. I have the ague (Rosenplänter's Beitr. 12, 42-3).

The Greek ἐπιάλτης, ἐφιάλτης, literally on-leaper, was a daemonic incubus, an alp, elf, who causes the feverish oppression of nightmare; and ἠπιάλης, ἠπιόλης nightmare, and ἠπίαλος, ἠπίολος fever, fever-chill, meant the same thing, though grammarians tried to separate them by difference of accent. Add to this, that in Aristot. hist. an. 8, 26 ἠπίολος turns up in the sense of *butterfly,* and the notions of spirit, elf and butterfly constantly run into one another (pp. 829. 917). In Lith., *drugis* is butterfly and fever-bird, in Lett., *drudsis* flying moth and fever. Lith. druggis kreczia, Lett. drudsis kratta; the fever shakes (one).

An AS. manuscript on diseases and remedies quoted by Wanley pp. 176—180 (conf. supra p. 140) has at p. 180 *ælf-âdle* læcedôm, cure for elf-burn, *ælfcynne-sealf,* elf-salve, *nihtgengean sealf,* night-wives' salve.[1] Elsewhere I find an ailment *ælf-sîdenne.*

By the *red* and the *white dog* in Ettner's Unw. doctor 436 we prob. are to understand measles or rose-rash; *red dog* again in the Leipz. avanturier 1, 86. The Persians call scarlet-fever *al,* and picture it as a *rosy maid* with locks of flame, Atkinson p. 49. 50 (see Suppl.).

By *gout* (gicht f.) we understand a pain in the limbs, arthritis; in older Germ. it was neuter: 'daz *gegihte* brichet (breaks) sie,' a. Heinr. 886. Ulr. Trist. 1461. 'daz *gegihte* brach ir hend und füeze,' Râb. 1060; hence our 'gicht-*brüchig,*' palsied. 'daz wüetende *gihte,*' Renner 9904. As we also find darm-gicht (intestinal g.) for colic, and 'sun-giht' on p. 617n. meant the sun's gait, going, turning, I think *gicht* was a general term denoting the *shooting, twisting* and *tugging* of pain in the body; and a derivative corresp. to the Goth. *gahts* (innagahts, Gramm. 3, 518). M. Nethl. *jicht,* Icel. *ikt,* Sw. *gikt,* Dan. *gigt.* The Gothic renders παραλυτικός by *us-liþa,* as if beside one's limbs, having no use of them; an OHG. *urlido* is not found. 'Ein siechtuom heizet *pôgrât*' = leme, a lame palsied state, Parz. 501, 26 is a corruption of podagra, which was also twisted into podagram. More Teut. are *fuoz-suht,* AS. *fôt-âdl* (podagra); *zipperlein* I do not find before the 16th cent. M. Nethl. *fledersîn, fledercine* (arthritis), Leven van Jesus p. 52, and '*fl.* in vote ende in lede,' Doctrinale 3, 1030; in D'Arsy's Woordenboeck, Amst. 1699, '*fledecijn, flerecijn,* la goutte (chiragra)'; did the word mean a moth or butterfly that brought on the disease? (see Suppl.).

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[1] Ibid. 'wið ælfcynnesealf and wið nihtgengan, and þâm monnom *þe deofol mid hæmð,*' against elf-salve and nightgangers and the men the devil homes (consorts) with (sup. p. 890).

The flying gout that shifts from one part to another (arthritis vaga) was called in N. Germany (Holstein, the Baltic coast), at least as late as the 17th cent., 'dat *varende, lopende deer,*' and in some parts of L. Sax. and Westph. 'de *varen,* de *varende,* de *lopende varen,*' the faring, running (sprites or things). So that this disease again was regarded as a spiritual-animal being which had been conjured into the body. Still plainer are the names 'die *fliegenden elbe,*' 'die *gute kinderen*' (Brunswk), 'die *gute holde*' (abt Göttingen), exactly what the elvish 'things' were called that witches conjured into people (p. 1074). And they likewise were imagined in the form of *butterflies* or *worms,* which caused gnawing pains and swellings in the joints of the hands and feet.[1] The disease being an obstinate one, and often hard to cure, the common people set it down as the work of witches. It is also called the *hair-worm,* and in the Netherlands *jumping gout.* A spell classifies gouts as *running, staying, trembling, evening,* and *growing* gegicht.

But the operations of the *holden* must have been far more extensive, and concerned in many more diseases. The *Hollenzopf, Wichtelzopf* (plica polon.) was spoken of, pp. 464. 474. In Russ. the plica is *volosets,* which borders on Vólos p. 625n., but comes from vólos, vlas, hair. A witch confessed (Voigt's Abh. p. 122) that there were *nine sorts of holdichen:* the riding, splitting, blowing, wasting, flying, swelling, deaf, dumb, blind.

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[1] Joh. Weyer's Arzneibuch (J. Wier, Piscinarius, b. at Grave in Brab. 1515, d. at Tecklenb. 1588), Frkft 1583, p. 27. Henr. Meibom de arthritide vaga scorbutina, Helmest. 1668. 1, cap. 1.

The Poles also call *worms* that breed diseases in man *biale ludzie,* white folk, i.e. elves (Biester's Neue Berl. mon. schr. 1802. 8, 230).

We apply the term *fluss* (rheuma) to several morbid affections, some slight, others dangerous to life, as *stickfluss* catarrh, *schlagfluss* apoplexy. The latter is said to touch, hit, strike; MHG. der *Gotes slac* (stroke); later, die *gewalt* (might) *Gottes,* die *hand Gottes,* Ettn. unw. doct. 224. 'traf mich *Gottes gewalt*' = I had a stroke, Brunsw. anz. 1745. p. 2022 (from Life of Mat. Schwarz, an. 1547); conf. supra p. 19n. Yet the 'stroke of God'[1] expresses also the *quickness* and *ease* of this mode of death (mors lenis repentina), compared with those that chain us long to a bed of pain: hence another name for apoplexy was 'das *selig,*' the blessed. We may compare the dwarf-stroke, *dverg-slagr,* palsy, p. 461. The Bohemians distinguish *Božj moc* (God's might) epilepsy, from *Božj ruka* (God's hand) apoplexy (see Suppl.).

The term *falling sickness* for epilepsy occurs as early as Diut. 2, 193^{b}, '*valjandia suht* (caducum morbum)'; 'daz *fallende übel,*' Fundgr. 325; 'fallender siechtag,' Hutten 5, 171. Otherwise: the *sorrow,* the *misery,* the *sore trouble,* the *evil being,* the *scourge,* the *weed* (Jul. Schmidt p. 136). M. Nethl. *vallende evel,* Mod. Nethl. *vallende ziekte, Sint Jans evel, grôt evel, gramschap Goods,* wrath of God, Huyd. op St. 1, 569. In Melander's Jocoser. 1, 434: 'may the *gnücken* touch you!' gnuk being LG. for knock. 'The *tropf* has touched him,' Erasm. Alberus 39, i.e. the stroke [apoplexy?]; M. Lat. *gutta, gutta cadiva,* O. Fr. la *goute:* '*cheent de gote,*' Ren. 25203, brought on by holding the plompe (lotus, p. 654) in the hand. A particular species of the drop occurs under the name of *nesch* or *nesch-tropf.* Schmid's Swab. Dict. gives from a MS. *näsch* as hiccough, singultus, which (like sneezing, p. 1116) seems to have been regarded as a mild case of apoplexy; Popowitsch p. 511 quotes *noschen* as hiccough, and in OHG. we find *nescazan* as well as fnescazan, singultire, Graff 3, 782. I derive them all from the Goth. hnasqus mollis, delicatus, AS. hnesc [Engl. nesh, Sl. nèzhno], to which also belongs OHG. hnascôn, nascôn, our naschen, to have a sweet tooth. Mone's anz. 6, 463 pronounces nösch-tropf to be flying gout, and gives a *nösch-segen* (-charm): 'I command thee, *nösch*, with all thy fellows, for with thee are the *stech* and the *krampf, gespat, geschoss, geicht* and *gesicht*.' A further charm speaks of 77 nöschen: 'we will go into the man's house, and suck his blood and gnaw his bones and eat his flesh'; but they get conjured into a withered tree. A severer, longer ailment than hiccough seems to be meant; Mone connects nösch with 'nesso' in the OS. spell, but a LG. *ss* answers to a HG. *hs*, not to *sk, sch*; to me the connexion of the word with naschen, explain it how you will, seems indisputable: 'sô dich diu suht *benasche* (nibble at), daz dir hût und hâr abe gê!' skin and hair come off (see Suppl.).

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[1] Διὸς *μάστιγξ*, Il. 12, 37. 13, 812; but not meaning a disease.

Krampf, spasm, convulsion, in children usually *freise, freisig, gefrais*, Sup. I, 474. 722, *fräsel*, Jul. Schmidt p. 121. 137. *Schäuerchen*, LG. *schürken* (jumping toothache, tic douloureux), liter. little shiver, twitch. But *freis, frais* often stands for epilepsy too (Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 429. 4, 218. 311).

Leib-weh, grimmen (krimmen, Nethl. krimpen), gripes, belly-ache; die obere *grimme, manns-mutter* (Wier 107^a); *hachmutter, bärmund, bärmutter*, Stald. 1, 136; 'the *bermutter* has bit me,' I have the colic, Schm. 1, 217; Austr. *bervater* and *bermutter* (Höfer 1, 77-8); *tvärmund*, Stald. 1, 334; *trîbe*, Fundgr. 321, 9 also means colic acc. to Hoffm.——*Ruhr* (dysentery), *durchlauf, darmgicht* (acc. to Gloss. Flor. 984^a) *ûzsuht*, Gl. Flor. 984^a *zuzsuht*; further, in Stald. *aussucht* (diarrh.). *Rothe ruhr* (bloody flux), 'der rothe schaden' (Anshelm 3, 236).

Lungensucht, AS. *lungenâdl* (pneumonia); '*schwinge*- oder lunge-sucht' in Schweinichen 2, 256 is surely for *schwinde*-? In Austria 'der *schwund*,' our *schwind-sucht* consumption; Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 303 says it seizes an ell's length of gut every year.

Seiten-stechen (pleuritis), OHG. *stechido*; M. Nethl. *lanc-evel*, Rein. 5401. Huyd. op St. 1, 569, from lanc, Fr. flanc, OHG. lancha = ilia, lumbus, but I have not found an OHG. *lanch-upil* morbus ilium.

Wasser-sucht, dropsy. OHG. has also *wazar-chalp* (water-calf) hydrops, Diut. 2, 181. Mone 8, 494; conf. *mond-kalb* (mola, caro in utero nascens), Melander's Joc. ii. no. 450, Engl. *mooncalf,* misbirth, about which there must be some floating mythical notions, for we also find a proper name *Sonnenkalb,* and aberkalb, afterkalb or eberkalb means an illegitimate child (see Suppl.).

For *abortus* we have misgeburt, fehlgeburt, miskram; verbs: to upset, tip over, spill, etc. 'zy heft de kar omgeworpen,' Tuinman's Spreekw. 1, 88; 'tis gone wrong with her, Schwein. 2, 314, conf. 321; not straight, Kantzow 2, 30; Dan. 'at giöre omslag'; of proper birth: to bring *to the* (right) *place.* Esth. tüyad nurgad (empty corners), mooncalf; 'ulle kätte minnema,' slip out of (miss) the hands, opp. to 'last pölwede peälet töstma,' get (lift) the child on the knee. We have: 'there's a row,' 'the house cracks' (the birth is near), 'the house has tumbled' (it is over), Sächs. prov. blätt. 14, 127; 'the oven breaks down,' Schm. 1, 33. In MHG. 'diu *kamer* wart entlochen,' unlocked, Mar. 46. *Bermutter,* which is used of colic, strictly denotes the hysterica passio, and is represented not only as a *toad,* Schm. 1, 188, but as a *mouse* that runs out of the body, and has a sword laid across the stream for it, Ettn. hebamme p. 194-5, as in the superstition described above, p. 1082 (see Suppl.).

Herz-gespan, tension of heart (cardialgia), herz-spann, Sup. I, 873. 949, otherwise herz-weh, herz-kulk (ventriculi colica): 'something lies and stands before my heart.' MHG. *herze-swer; swermage,* Diut. 2, 273. This is not the same thing as the *heartworm,* of which it is vulgarly supposed that every man has one in him, and would die if it crept out of his mouth (Ettn. hebamme p. 890), or got on his tongue, Chr. Weise's Drei klügste leute pp. 8. 9. The ancients called a swelling of the tongue *βάτραχος* and *rana.* The *heiss-hunger* (hot-), *βούλιμος,* appetitus caninus, was also accounted for by an animal: '*vermis lacertae similis* in stomacho hominis habitat,' Gl. Jun. 381. 'wir suln uns alle brœten, den *zadelwurm* tœten (kill) der uns dicke hât genâgen,' oft has gnawed us, Seifr. Helbl. 3, 247.

Headache, houbit-wê, Fundgr. 320-1; *houbit-suht,* Diut. 270; *farren,* Sup. I, 865. perh. the 'faren' of p. 1156. *Tobe-suht* (amentia), Iw. 3233, brain-sickness. *Wirbel-sucht,* vertigo, I, 436.

OHG. *huosto,* cough, MHG. *huoste,* our *huste* (in Zürich *wüeste*), ON. *hôsti,* AS. *hwôsta,* Engl. *whoost.* A cold in the head: *schnupfe,* schnaube, schnuder, in Switz. *pfnüsel;* Hildegard has *nasebôz,* coryza. MHG. *strûche,* Fundgr. 321, 1. Ls. 1, 403-4. Hoarseness: *kramme,* Fdgr. 322. Catarrh: OHG. *tampho,* Graff 5, 142, *dumpho* in Hildeg. St. Anthony's fire (because healed in his hospitals?): *rothlauf,* in Switz. *wolken, fliegende wolke,* flying cloud, Stald. 2, 456 (see Suppl.).

Gelbsuht, elephantiasis in Gl. Mons. 384; our *gelbsucht* is the jaundice. 'To fasten *yellow smocks* on folk,' is that to conjure the jaundice into them? Gelesuht and *fîch* are ficus morbus, piles, AS. *fîc-âdl;* in Altd. bl. 2, 199 'der rot *vich*' for hæmorrhoids; in Helbl. 2, 1190 'der rôte siechtuom und daz *vîc* macht iuch bleich unde gel.'——OHG. *misal-suht* (lepra), Graff 2, 875; Goth. *þruts-fill,* which in Gramm. 2, 20 I traced correctly to þriutan [to trouble, tease, our driessen, verdruss], and 2, 598 recognised þruts as anom. Gen. for þrutis. Þruts is torment, vexation, and applied to sickness, leprosy; the OHG. form would be *druzis-fel.* In Slavic languages *trud* is trouble and illness, the Boh. *trud* having exactly the two meanings of dolor and lepra, Pol. trąd eruption. OHG. *hriupî* (scabies), *rûda* (impetigo), Gl. Flor. 988^b, *zittarlûs,* tetter-louse, ringworm (impetigo), Diut. 1, 496^b. A modern slang term is schneider-courage (Adelung v. krätze), schneider-kurzweil, tailor's pastime (Ettn. unw. doct. 349). The AS. *gicða* (scabies, impetigo), Engl. *itch,* is the OHG. *juchido,* Graff 1, 593. The *rose* (erysipelas), *running fire,* ignis sacer (Ivonis epist. p. 85^a. 184^b), OHG. *omo,* AS. *oma,* ON. *âma.* Of red spots on a child's face they say 'the Jüdel has burnt him,' Sup. I, 473. AS. *þeor, þeorweorc* is inflammation, *þeorwyrm* impetigo vermicularis [1] (see Suppl.).

Stone, gravel, calculorum dolor: in Götz. v. Berlich. 103, 'der reissende (tearing) stein.'

A sort of excrescence or fungus (suam) was called *mal-annus* (das übel jâr), Spell VII; in Ratherii opp. ed Ballerini p. 15: 'carbunculi vel malae pustulae, quem malum vulgo dicunt *malampnum.*' And the plant used in healing it bore the name of *malannus* too, OHG. *achalm,* Graff 1, 132 (see Suppl.).

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[1] The Greeks too fancied the impetigo was caused by a small beetle. Pliny 27, 11 (75): lapis vulgaris juxta flumina fert muscum siccum, canum; hic fricatur altero lapide, addita hominis saliva; illo lapide tangitur impetigo. Qui tangit, dicit, *φεύγετε, κανθαρίδες, λύκος ἄγριος ὔμμε διώκει,* beetles begone, the wild wolf chases you.

Many other names of diseases I suppress; a still greater number must have eluded my research. My design was, out of this neglected mine of wealth in our language to bring specimens that should prove what mythical fancies the people associated with the origin of diseases. Like other evils, they seemed to be destined and devised by gods, spirits, magicians; nay, to become themselves malign living agents (p. 1153). Much remains obscure: what is meant by *ülfheit,* that plague of plagues (p. 442n.)? what by the *haupt-geschein* which is exorcized in Ayrer's Fastn. sp. p. 148-9, and turns up in other stories too (Schm. 3, 366)? Now in Renner 12180 we find 'ir habt daz *houbt-geschîde*' (rh. vermîde), meaning apparently folly, infatuation. If 'head-sheen' be right, I would explain it by the OHG. houbet-skîmo (capitis radii), N. Cap. 63: for it is an ailment that throws a nimbus or nebula round one's head, and makes one see everything double; H. Sachs names it 'der *plerr, augenplerr,*' ii. 2, 27^{b}. iii. 3, 9^{d}. iv. 3, 13$^{a.b}$, and we still say 'die *blerr* kriegen,' to be lost in amazement [blurred?]. Eating chervil is supposed to produce this doubleness of vision, Fragm. 37$^{b.c}$. Garg. 148^{a}.

A Finnic song makes an old woman, Launawatar (Schröter p. 48 seq.) or Louhiatar (Kalev. 25, 107) become the mother of nine sons (like the nine holden above): werewolf, snake, risi (?), lizard, nightmare, joint-ache, gout, spleen, gripes. These maladies then are brothers of baneful monsters; and in the song the last-named disorder is singled out for exorcism.

The Mod. Greeks picture the *smallpox* as a woman frightful to children, and euphemistically name her *συγχωρεμένη* indulgent, exorable (conf. ON. Eir), or more commonly *εὐλογία* one to be praised and blest (Fauriel's Disc. prél. lxxxv).

One more disease has to be noticed, which from quite the early part of the Mid. Ages was ascribed to demonic diabolic agency. I begin with a passage in the Vita Caesarii Arelatensis (d. 542), said to have been written by his pupils Cyprianus, Messianus and Stephanus, lib. 2 cap. 14 (Acta Bened. sec. 1, p. 673): 'Ille autem, quid infirmitatis haberet? interrogavit. Dixerunt, *daemonium* quod rustici *Dianam* appellant; quae sic affligitur, ut paene omnibus noctibus *assidue caedatur,* et saepe etiam in ecclesiam ducitur inter duos viros ut maneat, et sic *flagris diabolicis* occulte fatigatur, ut vox continua ejus audiatur. . . .

Oculis meis vidi plagas, quas ante aliquos dies in dorsum et in scapulas acceperat, in sanitatem venire, pridianas autem et in ipsa nocte impressas recentes inter illas intextas, quas prius perpessa fuerat.'—— Greg. Tur. mir. 5, Mart. 4, 36: 'Cum *de cultura rediret,* subito inter manus delapsa comitantium terrae corruit, ligataque lingua nullum verbum ex ore potens proferre, obmutuit. Interea accedentibus accolis ac dicentibus eam *meridiani daemonis* incursum pati, ligamina herbarum atque incantationum verba proferebant.'——Ducange has other passages sub v. *daemon meridianus;* the name seems to have arisen out of Ps. 91, 6, where Notker translates 'mittetagigo tiefel,' whom Greek writers also call *μεσημβρινὸς δαίμων*: the disease must have been of an epileptic nature. The Bohemians name it *polednice* (meridiana), but the Poles *Dziewanna* (p. 993n.), which is *Diana* again, and as Diana often means the same thing as *Holda,* it is essential to remember that this goddess also loves to appear *at the hour of noon* (Praetor. weltbeschr. 1, 476), and that *white ladies* are seen at the same season (p. 963-4-6), whose original is *Berhta* the bright. So that the malady can safely be traced to the operation of deities and elves. That here Holda and Berhta do strike in, has already been inferred on other grounds, p. 477-8, in speaking of the *aunt in the rye,* the *woman in the wheat,* who passes through the corn at noontide, like the Wendic *pshi-polnitsa:* some call her *pshi-polontsa,* she appears between 12 and 1 to labourers in heathy districts, especially to women weeding flax, she is clothed in white, and talks of flax-raising, how it is planted, reared, worked and spun; she is said to have wrung the necks of women that would not answer her; the people dread her, and are glad she has not shown herself this long while past. Observe, that in Gregory too the demon appeared to the woman at her field labour, and she falls to the ground, as the Russian peasants do before the 'weeping widow' who breaks their bones: in Gaul it was taken for a mental disorder. But in all these shapes of terror we cannot fail to recognise the motherly divinity of the heathens.

Of course, spirits have equally to do with animal diseases. An OS. formula adjures the *nesso* and his *nine young ones* to depart out of the flesh and skin of the spur-lamed horse. Dog's madness is said to come of a *worm* seated under the tongue, and this 'tollwurm' can be cut out. One ailment of horses is called the *blowing worm* (Spell XV), which reminds of the blowing holden, p. 1157. Another, of horses or of oxen, is the *hünsche:* Stald. 2, 61 makes it burning of the spleen or cold tumour, otherwise called 'the evil wind,' Tobl. p. 70; in Lower Hesse it is swollen udder in a cow, and the charm there muttered against it is:

> Die *hünsche* und der drache (dragon)
> die giengen über die bache (beck);
> die *hünsche* die vertrank (was drowned, al. verschwank vanished),
> der drache der versank.

A charm in Mone's Anz. 465 begins: 'there went three blessed virgins over a *hüntschen* hill, the *hüntschen* meets them, and one says, here is the *hüntsche.*' Certainly the word seems to contain the OHG. adj. hûnisc, MHG. hiunisch, and may refer to giants or to Huns (p. 523); the 'hünische berg' tells in favour of the first, in case a giant's mount is meant. Adelung writes 'der *hintsch,*' and explains it as asthma. A LG. formula substitutes for hünsche *slîe,* i.e. schleihe, tench (see Suppl.). In popular belief a witch can charm her elves or holden alike into man and beast. The Servians call an incurable disease in sheep *metil.* They say, once the Germans having caught the Devil, asked him what was a cure for the metil? He answered, when all the sheep were dead but one, they must carry the remaining one round the pen, and then no more would die but that one (Vuk sub v.). In other cases the first head of cattle that falls is to be buried, and a *willow shoot* be planted on the mound.

As the several diseases and plagues were ordained and sent by gods or daemons, there were also special *remedies* and *cures* that proceeded from such higher beings first of all. In the Catholic superstition of the later Mid. Ages there had grown up a regular system, as to which particular saint, male or female, was to be invoked for the several pains and sorrows of almost every limb in the body[1] (see Suppl.).

Out of a mass of superstitious *modes of healing,* I select the following.

A very ancient custom was, to *measure* the patient, partly by way of cure, partly to ascertain if the malady were growing or abating. We might even quote the Bible under this head, 1 Kgs 17, 21. 2 Kgs 4, 34, where Elijah and Elisha *measure* themselves over the lifeless child, and thereby restore him to life. And the practice of *measuring the limbs* when handing tapers up to the altar (Diut. 2, 292) is worth considering, though it is supposed rather to keep away coming evils. In the Bîhtebuoch p. 46 the question is asked: 'ob dû ie geloubetôst an hecse und an lâchenerin und an segenerin, und ob dû tæte daz si dir rieten (got them to advise thee)? und ob dû ie gesegnet oder gelâchent wurde oder *gemezen* wurde, und ob dû ie bekort wurde?' In Ls. 3, 9 a woman, wishing to fool her husband, says: 'tuo dich her, *lâ dich mezzen*,' come and be measured; then 'alsô lang ich in *maz*, unz er allez vergaz,' I measured him till he forgot everything. Another, who wants to persuade her husband that he is 'niht guoter sinne,' not of sound mind, says to him, Cod. kolocz. 141:

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[1] Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 143-4. Roquefort sub v. mal.

'Sô habt her, und *lât iuch mezzen*,
ob ihtes (aught) an iu sî vergezzen.'
Sie was ungetriuwe,
sie nam ir rîsen (rods) niuwe,
sie *maz in nâch der lenge*,
dô was ez im ze enge,
sie *maz im twerhes* (across) *über houpt*:
'swaz ich spriche, daz geloupt,
blâset dar durch (blow thro' these) mit gewalt,'
sie nam die rîsen zwîvalt,
'und tret mir ûf den rehten fuoz,
sô wirt iu iuwer sühte buoz ('twill boot your sickness);
ir sult iuch in daz bette legen
und sult iuch niergen regen (not stir),
biz daz ir derhitzet (till you get warm)
und ein wênc (a little) erswitzet,
sô ezzet drithalp rockenkorn (2½ grains of rye),
sô wirt iuwer suht gar verlorn.'

Renn. 12183: 'strecket iuch nider, und *lât iuch mezzen*.' This *measuring* is also quoted among sorceries (Sup. D, 38 r. 140 r.).

Pregnant women *measure* a *wick* the length of the saint's image, and tie it round their body (F, 31). Wier's Arzneibuch p. 31-3 mentions a disease called in the Treves country *nacht-grif* (brought on by the grip of a night-spirit?); to ascertain its presence, you proceed thus: draw the sick man's belt about his naked body, lengthwise and breadthwise, then take it off, and hang it on a nail with the words 'O God, I pray thee by the three virgins Margarita, Mariamagdalena and Ursula, be pleased to vouchsafe a sign upon the sick man, if he have the *nightgrip* or no'; then *measure again,* and if the belt be shorter than before, it is a sign of the said sickness. By the Schles. prov. bl. 1798. 27, 16—20, scarce a village in the Liegnitz country but has its *messerin,* always an old woman. When she is asked to say whether a person is in danger from consumption, she takes a thread and *measures* the patient, first from head to heel, then from tip to tip of the outspread arms; if his length be less than his breadth, then he is consumptive: the less the thread will measure his arms, the farther has the disease advanced (conf. p. 1158); if it reaches only to the elbow, there is no hope for him. The *measuring* is repeated from time to time: if the thread stretches, and reaches its due length again, the danger is removed. The wise woman must never ask money for her trouble, but take what is given. The Märk. forschungen 1, 247 says a woman is stript, and *measured* with a piece of *red yarn* spun on a Sunday. Compare the *measuring* of corn and water, Sup. I, 258. 953, and supra p. 491-7 (see Suppl.).

Much can be done by *stroking* and *binding.* A patient's body is commonly stroked with the hand or sleeve or the back of a knife; often a thread is also *tied* round the part affected, or the medicine tied on by it. Of this binding more hereafter.

In Poland, when the white folk (białe ludzie, p. 1157) torment a sick man, a bed of pease-halm is made, a sheet spread over it, and the patient laid thereon; then a person walks round him, carrying a *sieve-ful of ashes* on his back, letting the ashes run out, till the floor all round the bed is covered with them. The first thing in the morning they *count* all the *lines in the ashes,* and some one goes silently, greeting no one on the way, and reports the same to the wise woman, who prescribes accordingly (Biester's Mon. schr. as above). The spirits leave their tracks in the *ashes,* which are *strewn* as for the earth-mannikin p. 451 n.; conf. Sup. M, 40 (see Suppl.).

On the *drawing* and *pouring of water* by the wise woman, see Sup. I, 515. 865. Charming of apoplexy by a hatchet *on the threshold,* G, line 70.

The efficacy of *fire* and *flame* was proved on envenomed wounds, by burning them out; Sæm. 27b already mentions '*eldr* við sôttum,' fire against sicknesses. On erysipelas they *struck fire* [out of flint], Sup. I, 710. To insure cattle against fire, they drove them over the holy *needfire,* p. 604 seq. (see Suppl.).

An old cure for fever was, to lay the child on the oven or the roof: 'mulier si qua filium suum ponit *supra tectum* (conf. p. 1116) aut *in fornacem* pro sanitate febrium,' Sup. C, 10, 14. 'posuisti infantem tuum *juxta ignem,*' C, p. 200a. If a child does not get bigger, it has the *elterlein* (elderling); push it *into the baking-oven* a few times, and the elterlein will leave it, I, 75. This mode of cure follows the plan of goddesses and night-wives in laying children by the *flame,* p. 1059.

A salutary process for *children* and *cattle* was to make them walk or creep through *tunnelled earth, hollow stones* or a *cloven tree.* This either prevented or neutralized all magic, or worked homeopathically. So early as the Canones Edgari, acc. to the AS. version in Thorpe p. 396: 'treow-wurðunga and stân-wurðunga and þone deofles cræft, þær ma *þa cild þurh þa eorðan tihð.*' 'Mulieres, quae habent vagientes infantes, *effodiunt terram* et ex parte *pertusant eam,* et per illud foramen *pertrahunt* infantem,' Sup. A. Nurses take a new-born babe and *thrust it through a hole,* G, line 137; a child that will not learn to walk is made to crawl *under blackberry-vines* fixed in the soil at both ends, I, 818. Sheep, when sick, have to creep through the *cleft of a young oak*: 'nullus praesumat pecora per *cavam arborem* aut per *terram foratam* transire,' A.

Perforated stones are occasionally mentioned in early records: 'from *þyrelan* stâne,' Kemble 2, 29 (an. 847); '*durihilîn* stein,' MB. 2, 296 (an. 1130). Ital. pietra *pertusa.* Some are called *needles' eyes,* one of which stood between Hersfeld and Vacha near Friedewald; and they seem to have been placed on the former site of hollow trees, which were held in high esteem, but had died: '*Nadel-öhr* est lapis perforatus, in locum arboris excavatae, in media silva venatoribus ob ferarum silvestrium copiam frequente, a Mauritio Hassiae landgravio ad viam positus, per quem praetereuntes joci et vexationis gratia *proni perrepere* solent.'[1] This handseling of huntsmen and travellers went on long after all faith in the healing power had evaporated. In Gaul it seems to have kept a firmer hold, and taken a wider range; e.g. in Poitou: 'les enfants trop faibles reprennent des forces, lorsqu'ils ont été *assis dans le trou de la pierre* saint Fessé; cette pierre informe placée au milieu d'un champ est respectée par les laboureurs, et la charrue laisse un espace libre à l'entour,' Mém. des antiq. 8, 455; similar traditions ib. 1, 429. 430.

This creeping through a gap in oak, earth or stone seemingly transferred the sickness or sorcery to the genius of the tree or soil.[2] From Magdeburg country I have heard the following: Let two brothers (if twins, the better) *split a cherry-tree in the middle,* and pull any sick child through, then bind the tree up again; as the tree heals up, so will the child. Near Wittstock in the Altmark stood a stout gnarled *oak,* whose boughs had grown into and made *holes* in each other: the afflicted who *crept through these holes* recovered; all round the tree lay numbers of crutches that convalescent cripples had thrown away (Temme p. 116-7). In Sweden these round openings in intertwisted boughs are called *elf-bores,* and women in labour are forced through them. We are not always told what diseases were cured by this method; here is a passage proving that as late as last century the English peasantry still practised it for ruptures: 'In a farmyard near the middle of Selborne (Hants) stands at this day a row of *pollard-ashes,* which, by the seams and long cicatrices down their sides, manifestly shew that in former times they have been cleft asunder. These trees, when young and flexible, were severed and held open by wedges, while *ruptured children* stript naked were *pushed through the apertures,* under a persuasion that by such a process the poor babes would be cured of their infirmity. As soon as the operation was over, the tree in the suffering part was plastered with loam, and carefully swathed up. If the part coalesced and soldered together, as usually fell out where the feat was performed with any adroitness at all, the party was cured; but where the cleft continued to gape, the operation, it was supposed, would prove ineffectual. We have several persons now living in the village, who in their childhood were supposed to be healed by this superstitious ceremony, derived down perhaps from our Saxon ancestors, who practised it before their conversion to christianity. ——At the south corner of the area near the church, there stood about twenty years ago a very old grotesque hollow *pollard-ash*, which for ages had been looked on with no small veneration as a *shrew-ash*. Now a *shrew-ash* is an ash whose *twigs* or branches, when gently *applied to the limbs of cattle*, will immediately relieve the pains which a beast suffers from the *running of a shrewmouse* over the part affected. For it is supposed that a shrewmouse is of so baneful and deleterious a nature, that wherever it creeps over a beast, be it horse, cow or sheep, the suffering animal is afflicted with cruel anguish, and threatened with the loss of the use of the limb. Against this accident, to which they were continually liable, our provident forefathers always kept a *shrew-ash* at hand, which, when once medicated, would maintain its virtue for ever. A *shrew-ash* was made thus:[1] into the body of the tree a deep hole was bored with an auger, and a poor devoted *shrewmouse was thrust in alive and plugged in*, no doubt with several quaint incantations long since forgotten. As the ceremonies necessary for such a consecration are no longer understood, all succession is at an end, and no such tree is known to subsist in the manor or hundred. As to that on the area, the late vicar stubbed and burnt it when he was waywarden, regardless of the remonstrances of the bystanders, who interceded in vain for its preservation’[2] (see Suppl.).

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[1] Pauli Hentzneri itinerar. (an. 1598-9), Breslau 1617. p. 5.

[2] N.B., in the O.Fr. Tristan 1321—34 when the dwarf Frocine confides to the blackthorn the secret of king Mark having horse's ears, he first puts his head *under the hollow root,* and then speaks. His secret thus passes on to the thorn.

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[1] Rob. Plot's Nat. hist. of Staffordshire, Oxf. 1686. p. 222: ‘A superstitious custom they have in this county, of making *nursrow trees* for the cure of unaccountable swellings in their cattle. For to make any tree, whether oak, ash or elm, a *nursrow tree*, they catch one or more of these nursrows or fieldmice, which they fancy bite their cattle and make them swell, and having bored a hole to the center in the body of the tree, they put the mice in, and then drive a peg in after them of the same wood, where they starving at last communicate forsooth such a virtue to the tree, that cattle thus swoln *being wiped with the boughs of it* presently recover: of which trees they have not so many neither, but that at some places they go 8 or 10 miles to procure this remedy.’

[2] White's Nat. hist. and antiq. of Selborne, Lond. 1789. 4, p. 202—4.

This superstition of the *mouse-ash* holds together with some things we have already touched upon. Thus, plugging the mouse in is very like shutting up one's ill-luck in the hollow oak, p. 878; and we are helped out by a statement in Luther's Table-talk (ed. 1571. fol. 53ᵇ): 'a hole is bored in a tree, the *soul* placed therein, and a plug driven in after, that it may stay in.' We know that on other occasions, when soul or spirit quits the body, it takes the shape of a *mouse*, p. 1082.

Raibiht is what the Lettons call a fancied cure for headache: the sufferer is *measured* a few times round the head with the inner bark of the lime, and then has to *crawl through this bast.* We also find that through *holes bored* in this healing tree water is poured and drunk.[1]

It partakes of angang, that the *first three corn* or *sloe blossoms* one sees in the year should furnish a remedy for fever, Sup. I, 695. 718. 784. 1018; conf. the 2½ grains of rye, p. 1164.

At the Vogelsberg gouty persons wear on the ring-finger of the right hand *iron rings* made out of *nails on which men have hung themselves.* Gout-charms are worn on the breast, wrapt in unbleached linen, with flaxen *threads without a knot.* Both fall under the head of amulets and adligatio. *Healing girdles* were already known to Marcellus, AS. hom. 2, 28.

Diseases and remedies are also *buried in the ground:* in the ant-hill, Sup. I, 864. Of this class is a cure of epilepsy performed in the 10th cent. by burying peachblossoms, which Ratherius in Praeloquiis lib. 1 (ed. Mart. et Dur. p. 808. ed. Baller. p. 31) relates doubtingly: Factum sit, infectum sit, narratum est quod refero. Cujusdam divitis filius *gutta* quam *cadivam* dicunt laborabat. Medicorum omne probatissimorum erga eum inefficax ingenium ad desperationem salutis paternum atque maternum deduxerat animum, cum ecce unus servorum suggerit, ut flores arboris persicae optime mundatos primo lunis

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[1] Physica Hildegardis 3, 10 de cupresso: Quod si aliquis homo a diabulo vel per magica irretitus est, praefatum lignum, quod *cor* dicitur, *cum terebro perforet*, et in fictili vase aquam vivi fontis tollat, et eam *per idem foramen* in aliud fictile vas fundat, et cum jam infundit dicat: 'ego fundo te, aqua, per foramen istud in virtuosa virtute, quae Deus est, ut cum fortitudine quae tibi adest in natura tua fluas in hominem istum qui in sensu suo irretitus est, et omnes contrarietates in eo destruas, et eum in rectitudinem in quam Deus eum posuit, in recto sensu et scientia reponas.' Et aquam istam per novem dies jejunus bibat, et etiam tociens hoc modo benedicatur, et melius habebit.

(i.e. lunae) die Aprilis mensis in vase vitreo colligerent, quod *sub radice ejusdem arboris, insciis omnibus,* ab uno quo vellent *suffoderetur,* eodem die reversuro ipso a quo positum est, anno vergente, si fieri posset hora quoque eadem, et effosso vase *flores in oleum conversos, arborem siccatam* inventuro, quod sub altare positum presbytero quoque ignorante, *novem missis* super eo celebratis sanctificaretur, et statim post accessum ejusdem morbi *novem vicibus* in haustum diatim scilicet aegro daretur, cum oratione Dominica, ita duntaxat ut post 'libera nos a malo' a dante diceretur 'libera Deus istum hominem (nomine ill.) a gutta cadiva,' et quibus novem diebus missam quotidie audiret, azymum panem cibumque quadragesimalem post jejunium caperet, atque ita Deo miserante convalesceret. Si tamen factum est, ille convaluit, servus emancipatus est, etiam heres adscriptus, medicina ab innumeris adprobata multis quoque salutis contulit remedia.

The elder-tree is good for toothache and ague: for the former the sufferer *sticks an elder-branch into the ground* with the words 'begone, bad spirit'; in the case of ague he puts it in without saying a word, but his fever sticks to the elder, and then fastens on the first person who comes to the spot unawares, Dan. Sup. K, 162. Specially wholesome is an elder that grows over beehives (op bjintjekoven); the bast is peeled off *upwards* (not down), and a decoction of it is given the patient to drink (Lapekoer fen Gabe scrôar. p. 31-2).

It is worth noticing how the sickness is *transferred to a tree,* i.e. to the spirit who inhabits it. Spell no. xxvi begins with the words: '*bough, I bend thee,* so fever leave me'; another has: '*Lift thee up, elder bough! Antony's fire,* sit on it now! I've had thee a day, thou have it alway!' One that has the gout must go three successive Fridays after sunset under a *firtree*: 'firtree, I complain to thee, the gout torments me sore, etc.'; the fir withers, and the gout leaves off. 'Deus vos salvet, *sambuce,* panem et sal ego vobis adduco, febrem tertianam et quotidianam *accipiatis vos,* qui nolo eam.' Westendorp p. 518 reports a Nethl. custom: to be rid of ague, one goes early in the morning (in der uchte) to an old willow, *ties three knots in a bough,* and says to it: 'goe morgen, *olde,* ik geef oe de kolde, goe morgen, *olde!*' then he turns, and runs away fast without looking round. Sup. I, 1074: he that has 'fever-frost' shall go in silence, and across no water, to a *hollowed willow, thrice breathe his breath into it, quickly block up the hole,* and hasten home, neither looking behind nor speaking a word; and the fever shall keep away. In Spell xliv the gout is *handed over* to a young pinetree with a courteous 'good morrow, *dame Pine!*'

Diseases can likewise be transferred *to animals.* 'Praecordia vocamus uno nomine exta in homine, quorum in dolore cujuscunque partis si *catulus lactens* admoveatur apprimaturque his partibus, *transire in eum morbus* dicitur, idque in exenterato perfusoque vino deprehendi, vitiato viscere illo quod doluerit hominis; et *obrui tales religio est,*' Pliny 30, 4 [14]. 'Sunt occulti interaneorum morbi, de quibus mirum proditur: si *catuli, priusquam videant,* applicentur triduo stomacho maxime ac pectori, et ex ore aegri suctum lactis accipiant, *transire vim morbi,* postremo exanimari, dissectisque palam fieri aegri causas; mori et humari debere eos *obrutos terra*...Quod praeterea traditur in torminibus mirum est: *anate* apposita ventri, *transire morbum,* anatemque emori,' 30, 7 [20]. So, even within the last few centuries, people have put *young whelps* to the human breast, and let them suck. That a corn (clavus, ἧλος) should be called by us *hen's eye* (Boh. kuřj oko), *magpie's eye* (Nethl. exter-ôg), and *crow's eye,* arose out of a belief in the possibility of these transfers. Tobler 18^b tells us, if a Swiss calls out on the spot where a magpie has sat, 'zigi, zigi, *ägest,* i ha dreu auga (I've 3 eyes), ond du gad zwä,' he gets rid of his magpie's eye.

The flying gout is cured by the patient being *completely swathed in clean flax:* when he lies in it snug as a bug in a rug, a *sheepskin* is spread over him, and the sweating medicine administered. This envelopment is a remedy renowned in the old Beast-fable. The lion taken with a fever is to *wrap himself in the hide of a wolf* of 3½ years who has been flayed alive, and to sweat; this we have already in the Aesopic fable (Reinh. cclx). Our old German poem goes more into minutiæ: the lion's illness was caused by an ant having crept into his brain; Reynard prescribes *wrapping the hide of an old wolf about* him, putting a *bearskin* on him, and a *catskin hat* on his head: when the cat's fur is warmed, the ant creeps out into it. Such wrapping in the newly stript hide of an animal was really practised in the Mid. Ages on various emergencies, for puny infants prematurely born, for those cut out unborn (p. 388), for a bad fall. In a Nethl. comedy of the 16th century, 'De böse frouwens,' they sew up the sick woman in a page's skin, 'in eine *vriske pagenhut beneijen.*' Schmidt on the East Mongols p. 229 remarks, that these tribes also, to cure a disease, put their feet in the opened breast of a *horse fresh killed.* The application of warm flesh is several times mentioned: '*vivum gallinaceum pullum* per medium dividere, et protinus *calidum super vulnus* imponere sic ut pars interior corpori jungatur,' Celsus 5, 27; '*cut open a black hen,* and lay it *on the shaven* head,' Ettn. hebamme 795; *fresh-killed flesh* on a *wound,* Belg. mus. 7, 446 (see Suppl.).[1]

Again, the *hirzîn rieme,* hart-strap, cut out of Randolt's hide for the sick lion (Reinh. 1951), is found actually prescribed as a remedy, Bresl. MS. of the 14th century in Fundgr. 1, 325: 'Für daz vallende ubel. Du salt warten, swenne iz en an-ge (attacks him), so nim einen *hirzinen riemen,* unde bint im den umbe den hals (round his neck) di wile im we si, unde sprich, "In nomine, etc. so binde ich hie den sichthum dises menschen in disem knopfe," unde nim den selbem riemen denne, unde knupfe (tie) einen knoten dar an; den selben riemen sal man denne binden dem siechen umbe den hals; unde derselbe mensch sal sich enthalden (abstain) von dem wine unde von dem fleische, biz (till) daz er kume da (where) man einen toten man begrabe (burying), da sal man den riemen losen dem siechen von dem halse, unde sal den selben riemen begraben mit dem toten manne, wan der selbe rieme sal *dem toten geleget werden under die schulter* (laid under the dead man's shoulder), unde sal einer sprechen, der den riemen leget, etc. der sichthum gewirret im nimmer mere.' Elsewhere it is prescribed for epilepsy, to *gird oneself with a wolfskin,* Belg. mus. 6, 105 (see Suppl.).

The modern pharmacopœia is almost confined to vegetable and mineral medicines; the ancient comprised all manner of animal stuffs. The hearts of certain birds, the flesh, blood and fat of certain beasts possessed a peculiar healing power.[1] *Monkey's flesh* does the sick lion good (Reinh. cclx), though the ignorant wolf recommends that of the goat and ram.[2] The *blood* of birds and of the fox heals wounds, Pentam. 2, 5. *Crow's blood* bewitches, Sup. G, l. 202. *Blood* from the cock's comb, *brains* of the female hare are of service, Ettn. hebamme 875. Of a piece with this is the superstitious healing of leprosy by the *blood* of innocent boys and pure maids, that of the falling sickness by the *blood* of slain malefactors, Sup. I, 1080. *Spittle,* and even mere *breath,* are medicinal[3] (see Suppl.).

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[1] 'His diebus occulto Dei judicio idem Eraclius (episc. Leodiensis, d. 971) morbo, qui *lupus* dicitur, miserabiliter laborabat. Patiebatur autem in natibus, erat igitur videre miseriam; tam graviter enim vis valetudinis grassabatur, ut mirum in modum carnes viri lupino modo consumeret, corroderet, devoraret; solumque solatium, non quidem spes evadendae aegritudinis, sed saltem dilatio mortis erat, quod quotidie duo pulli gallinarum eplumes et eviscerati mane, duoque vespere, vice carnium viri consumendi morbo, ac si lupinae rabiei, apponebantur.' The chickens were fastened on with bandages, Chapeaville 1, 191–4. Skin inflammation and eating ulcers are called *wolf:* one walks, rides, till he gets the wolf, Lat. *intertrigo,* Gr. *παράτριμμα.* [Sheepskin proposed for Prince of Wales].

A great many appliances heal or hurt *by sympathy.* Thus jaundice is rendered incurable by a yellow-footed hen flying over the patient, Sup. I, 549; it is cured by looking into black carriage-grease (66). Spanning a pot or bowl with the hand brings on tension of the heart (11. 949); twisting osiers gives a wry neck or the gripes (373; conf. p. 1146). Fever is *abated* or *laid* by laying a field under flax while repeating a charm: as the seed comes up, the fever goes off (Höfer 3, 131). On rose or red rash (erysipelas) you are to strike sparks with stone and steel (I, 383. 710); to make evil bounce off your body, as water off the millwheel (p. 593); to break a loaf over the head of a tongue-tied child (I, 415); to knock a tooth that is pulled out into the bark of a young tree (630). The people have many such specifics for hiccough, earache, toothache, etc., I, 151. 211. 280. 581-4. 722. 950 (see Suppl.).

Remedies are very often *tied on,* are *worn fastened round the arm, neck, or waist.* These the writers of the early Mid. Ages call *ligamenta, ligaturae, phylacteria.* *Φυλακτήρια* are preservatives, protective pendants, amulets, often of thin metal plate (blech), so that OHG. glosses render them *pleh, plehhir,* but also of glass, wood, bones, herbs, silver and gold; *ligaturae* apparently mere ties of thread. The later word is *an-gehenke,* appendage, I, 869. 870. Cipher-writing and runes were also appended, not always for healing, but contrariwise to bewitch and injure. Here are testimonies to both kinds: 'Ut clerici vel laici *phylacteria* vel *falsas scriptiones* aut *ligaturas,* quae imprudentes pro febribus aut aliis pestibus adjuvare putant, nullo modo ab illis vel a quoquam Christiano fiant, quia magicae artis insignia sunt,' Capitul. 6, 72. 'Admoneant sacerdotes non *ligaturas ossium* vel *herbarum* cuiquam adhibitas prodesse, sed haec esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostis,' Capit. add. 3, 93. In Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 45 we read of a sick boy to whom the wizard (ariolus) was fetched: 'Ille vero venire non differens, accessit ad aegrotum, et artem suam exercere conatur, incantationes immurmurat, sortes jactat, *ligaturas collo suspendit.*' In Lex Visig. vi. 2, 4: 'Qui in hominibus vel brutis animalibus, seu in agris seu in vineis diversisque arboribus, maleficium aut diversa *ligamenta* aut etiam *scripta* in contrarietatem alterius excogitaverit facere.' In Lex Sal. 22, 4: 'Si quis alteri aliquod maleficium superjactaverit, sive cum *ligaturis* in aliquod loco miserit.' The Indiculus (Sup. B; C int. 43 and p. 195^b) speaks of such *ligaturae* and *nefaria ligamenta,* both healing and hurtful; Kopp's Palaeogr. 3, 74 seq. gives other passages on amulets and ligatures. Hincmar 1, 654 says: 'Turpe est fabulas nobis notas referre, et longum est sacrilegia computare, quae ex hujusmodi de *ossibus mortuorum* atque cineribus *carbonibusque* extinctis (supra p. 621) . . . cum *filulis colorum multiplicium,* et *herbis variis* ac cocleolis, et serpentum particulis composita, cum carminibus incantata deprehendentes comperimus.' These particoloured threads remind one of Virgil's verse: '*terna* tibi haec primum *triplici* diversa *colore* licia circumdo,' and 'necte tribus nodis *ternos,* Amarylli, *colores*' (Ecl. 8, 73-7).[1] If it was the Romans that taught our fathers the use of amulets, they must have done it very early, for what says Boniface? Epist. 51 (an. 742): 'Dicunt quoque se vidisse ibidem mulieres *pagano ritu phylacteria* et *ligaturas* in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere, et publice ad vendendum venales ad comparandum aliis offerre.' And Beda 4, 27: 'Nam et multi . . . ad *erratica idolatriae medicamina* concurrebant, quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes vel *phylacteria* . . . cohibere valerent.' A phylactery with relics from neck to breast in Sigeb. Gembl. 828. In Bonaventurae centiloq. 1, 29 (Opp. ed. Venet. 5, 130): 'Maleficium est peritia per quam mulieres faciunt aliquas *ligaturas* in damnum vel in commodum alicujus, ut de *crista galli* et de *rana* et de imagine cum eis.' Even Pliny 30, 1 [30] speaks of tying *beetles* on. The *füli-zant,* foal's tooth, Ms. 2, 160^b I have noticed p. 658n.; Pliny 28, 19 [78] alludes to this custom also: '*dentes qui equis primum cadunt* facilem dentitionem praestant *infantibus adalligati.*' The godfather mentioned with 'fülizant' is, I suppose, to put it round the godchild with his own hands? The tying-on of simples is treated more fully in the next chap. (see Suppl.).

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[1] Wanley p. 75 (conf. 220) cites a 'tractatus Idparti fabulosus': Medicina ex quadrupedibus.

[2] 'Mit der *belchen* (fulicae atrae) füezen wirt dem man mazleide buoz,' Ls. 3, 564.

[3] Herodotus 2, 111 speaks of a blind man recovering sight *γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος.*

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[1] Among the Lettons the bride on her way to church must throw a bunch of *coloured threads* and a coin into every ditch and pond she sees, and at each corner of the house, as an offering to the water and home sprites. Merkel's Letten, p. 50; conf. Sup. M, 11.

Bewitching a newly-married couple was alluded to, pp. 1073-96. The witch, by merely *muttering* a spell during the wedding, if she be present, can incapacitate both husband and wife for having children. Hincmar 1, 654 relates a case, and states the composition of the material employed as a charm; on his statement is founded a passage in Gratian's decree ii. 33, 1 § 4. Such sorcery is named *tying the senkel* or *nestel, turning the lock, binding,* because it is accompanied by the secret tying of a knot or locking of a padlock.[1] *Nestel* means a tie (ligula); it is a *senkel* when the ends are tipped with metal, to make it sink faster. It is also called *tying up the breach,* tying the tippet or nether garment, Fr. *nouer l'aiguilette.* There are said to be fifty sorts of these ties, and a vast number of unintelligible *tie-spells.*[2] The lock when fastened, the knot when tied, was thrown away, not hung on the bewitched.

Many forms are observed in *pregnancy* and *childbirth,* Sup. I, 41. 176. 293. 337. 364. 489. 561. 654. 673-4. 688. 691. 702. 724—732. 817. 859. 924-5. 933. M, 12. 18—23. If the woman put her husband's *slippers* on, if on the wedding-day the bridegroom tie the bride's *garters,* she will have easy labours. Does this account for the custom, whose antiquity I shall presently prove, of the bride on the wedding-night *exchanging her shift* for the

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[1] Antidotes in Ettn. hebamme p. 294-6. Wegner's Schauplatz p. 625 seq.

[2] Bodin, transl. by Fischart, p. 74-5. [Tie as many knots as one has warts, etc.]

bridegroom's shirt? Vintler says, Sup. G, l. 170: 'da sind dan etlich briute (some brides), die legent *ir hemd* an irs mannes ort (place).' More clearly in Turlin's Wh. 148: 'diu künigîn wart gebrîset in ein *hemede;*

als er dir sî gelegen bî (lain down beside thee),
und er dar nâch entslâfen sî (gone to sleep),
sô lege tougen (stealthily) *sîn hemede* an;
und ob dîn sin gesuochen kan (wit can contrive),
daz ez werde heimlich getân (be secretly done),
sich (see), daz dich iht verdrieze (fail not),
dîn hemde sîn houpt beslieze (envelop his head);
daz sol an dinem vlîze stên (depend on thy pains):
dar nâch soldu über in gên
an sîme hemde, daz wirt dir vromen (profit thee).

Among the Greeks a birth was forwarded or checked by superior divine beings, the *eileithyiai,* handmaids of Hera, who were gradually merged in a single *Eileithyia,* the Roman *Lucina.* In our Edda *Oddrûn* the sister of Atli has skill in childbirth, she posts over land to the expectant mother, flings the saddle off her steed and strides into the hall (Sæm. 239), kneels down before the maid, and speaks her charm. They spoke of '*kiôsa* mæðr frâ mögum' (exsolvere matres a pueris), Sæm. 187^{b}, and gave the office to norns. There must have been from the earliest times sympathetic means of *delivering* and of *obstructing,* which are practised to this day: to cross the legs, to fold the hands before the woman in labour was obstructive, to leave loose or disengage was helpful; probably the energetic unsaddling of the steed had this meaning. Ovid's Met. 9, 298:

Dextroque a poplite laevum
pressa genu, *digitis* inter se *pectine junctis*
sustinuit nixus; tacita quoque carmina voce
dixit, et inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus.
310. Divam residentem vidit in ara,
brachiaque *in genibus digitis connexa* tenentem.
314. Exsiluit, junctasque manus pavefacta remisit
diva potens uteri: vinclis levor ipsa remissis.

'*Assidere* gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibeatur, *digitis pectinatim inter se implexis* veneficium est, idque compertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus si *circa unum ambove genua;* item poplites alternis genibus imponi,' Pliny 28, 6 [17]. 'Ferunt *difficiles partus* statim *solvi,* si quis tectum in quo sit gravida transmiserit *lapide* vel *missili* ex his qui tria animalia singulis ictibus interfecerint, hominem, aprum, ursum. Probabilius id facit hasta velitaris, evulsa e corpore hominis, si terram non attigerit,' 28, 4 [6], (see Suppl.).

A *poisoning* case was sometimes met by forcible remedies: the man was hung up by the heels, and after a time one of his eyes pulled out, in hopes of the venom oozing out at that aperture: 'tamen intoxicatus Albertus in Austria, et diu per pedes suspensus, oculum perdens evasit,' Alb. Argent. (ed. Basil. 1569) p. 167 (see Suppl.).

Water, springs, fire (pp. 1166. 1173) have power to preserve health or restore it (pp. 586-8. 605-6. 618-9. 621—4); especially a *spring* that has burst out of the rock at the bidding of a god or saint. The *snake* that lies coiled round the holywell, or is seen beside it (p. 585-8n.), may be likened to the serpent-rod of Aesculapius. Healing water or oil trickles out of rocks and walls. The mother that was walled in (p. 1143) continued for a time to nourish her babe through a hole in the wall, till at last she died. At that hole there is a *continual dropping,* women whose *milk has run dry* go there to get healed: the mother's milk had streamed so long that it sets other breasts flowing too. I know of a similar story in Italy: 'est quoque non procul ab hoc oppido (Verona), in valle quadam Policella dicta, locus Negarina nomine, ubi *saxum* durissimum visitur, in quo *mammae* ad justam muliebrium formam sculptae sunt, *ex quarum papillis perpetuae stillant aquae,* quibus si lactans mulier papillas asperserit et laverit, exsiccatus aliquo (ut fit) vel morbo vel alio casu illi *lacteus humor* revocatur,' Hentzneri itinerar. p. 201. A rock which drops milk is mentioned in Fel. Faber's Evagator. 1, 449; and the Lith. *Laumês papas* (teat) is the name of a hard stone.

To the *tombs of saints* a direct healing power was ascribed in the Mid. Ages, everything in contact with them brought help, even a draught of the water poured over bones, garments, splinters and earth. Turf and dew off the grave can heal (Greg.

Tur. vitæ patr. 6, 7).[1] Beda 3, 9 tells of St. Oswald: 'In loco ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie *sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum* celebrari non desinunt. Unde contigit ut *pulverem ipsum,* ubi corpus ejus in terram corruit, multi auferentes et *in aquam mittentes* suis per haec infirmis multum commodi afferrent: qui videlicet mos adeo increbuit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae virilis reddiderit.' 3, 11: 'De *pulvere* pavimenti in quo aqua lavacri illius effusa est, multi jam *sanati infirmi.*' 3, 13: 'Habeo quidem de *ligno* in quo caput ejus occisi a paganis infixum est . . . tunc benedixi aquam, et *astulam roboris praefati* immittens obtuli aegro potandam: nec mora, melius habere coepit.' 4, 3 of St. Ceadda (d. 672): 'Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi qui causa devotionis illo adveniunt manum suam immittere, ac *partem pulveris* inde assumere, quam cum *in aquas miserint* atque has infirmantibus jumentis sive hominibus gustandas dederint, mox infirmitatis ablata molestia, cupitae sanitatis gaudia redibunt.' 4, 61 of Earconwald: 'Etenim usque hodie *feretrum* * ejus caballarium, quo infirmus vehi solebat, servatum a discipulis ejus, multos *febricitantes* vel alio quolibet incommodo fessos *sanare* non destitit. Non solum autem *suppositi eidem feretro* vel *appositi* curantur aegroti, sed et *astulae de illo abscissae* atque ad infirmos allatae citam illis solent afferre medelam.'——Relics not only heal, but bring fortune, peace and fruitfulness, pretty much as the jewels of elves and dwarfs did in particular families: 'ubicunque hae reliquiae fuerint, illic *pax* et *augmentum* et *lenitas aëris* semper erit' (Pertz 1, 71).[2]

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[1] Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 21 takes from Eusebius 7, 18 the tale of a metal image of the Saviour and the woman of Cæsarea, whose issue of blood was stanched: 'Hujus ad pedem statuae in basi herba quaedam nova specie nascitur. quae cum exorta fuerit, *crescere usque ad stolae illius aereae indumenti fimbriam* solet. *quam cum* summo vertice crescens herba *contigerit,* vires inde ad *depellendos omnes morbos* languoresque conquirit; ita ut quaecunque fuerit illa infirmitas corporis, haustu exiguo madefacta salutaris graminis depellatur; nihil omnino virium gerens, si antequam aereae fimbriae summitatem crescendo contigerit, decerpatur. hanc statuam ad similitudinem vultus Jesu tradebant, quae permansit etiam ad nostra (Eusebii) usque tempora, sicut ipsi oculis nostris inspeximus.'—The beautiful myth is also copied by Agobardus (Opp. ed. Baluze, Par. 1666. 2, 248-9). It was essential for the plant to have grown up to the hem of the garment, it was only by touching it that it acquired healing efficacy.

[2] Les reliques sunt forz, Deus i fait grant vertuz,
iloc juit un contrait, set anz out ke ne se mut,

The legends are full of the marvellous deliverances vouchsafed to pilgrim patients at the tombs of saints. An incredible number of sick had recourse to this method; but it is cleverly parodied in our Beast-apologue (Reinh. pp. cv. cxxvi): the hare with his fever, the wolf with his earache, are cured the moment they lie down on the grave of the martyred hen. From such delusion the heathens were free: I nowhere find it stated that they sought healing from relics or at the mounds of their kings and giants. They resorted however to *sacred woods*, p. 72-4 (see Suppl.).[1]

In Greece, particularly in Bœotia, it was customary for patients, *on recovery*, to set up in the temple a metal model of the part of the body which had been affected. Amongst ἀναθήματα an inscription mentions πρόσωπον, τιτθός, αἰδοῖον, χείρ, &c.;[2] these votive offerings were afterwards melted down to make sacred vessels. The custom of votive tablets with limbs depicted on them may indeed have been imported into Germany by the Romans while yet heathens, unless we will admit that our fathers themselves had known them before. The passage from Gregory given p. 81 says expressly: '*membra,* secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, *sculpebat in ligno,*' and further on, 'visi enim in eo barbari gentili superstitione, modo auri argentique dona, modo fercula ad potum vomitumque ebrii offerre, cultumque quo nihil insanius, istic simulacrum inanis dei, ac ut quemque *affecti membri dolor presserat, sculpebat in ligno suspendebatque* opitulaturo idolo.' This was done in Ripuaria in the 6th cent. Eligius refers to the same thing, Sup. A: '*pedum similitudines,* quos *per bivia* ponunt, fieri vetate, et ubi invenerit igni cremate; per nullam aliam artem salvari vos credatis nisi per invocationem et crucem Christi!' and the Indiculus § 29, 'de *ligneis pedibus*

tut li os li crussirent, li ners li sunt estendut:
ore sailt sus en peez, unkes plus sain ne fud. Rom. de Charlem. 192—5.

Les reliques sunt forz, granz vertuz i fait Deus,
que il ne venent a ewe, nen partissent les guet,
nencuntret aveogle ki ne seit reluminet,
les cuntrez i redrescent, e les muz funt parler. 255-8.

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[1] The origin of relic-worship I shall investigate in another place.

[2] Corp. inscript. 1, 750 no. 1570, where Böckh says: 'Donaria medicationis causa Amphiarao oblata. Qui ex oraculo per somnium dato restituti in sanitatem erant, ii partim *membri quo laborarant effigiem* dicabant (p. 474 no. 497-8), partim alia donaria, quemadmodum etiam in fontem Amphiarai dejicere nummos solebant.' Conf. Pausan. 1, 3.

vel *manibus* pagano ritu'; a woman with a palsied arm is admonished *in a dream* 'ut instar semivivae *manum ceream* formando exprimeret, et ad sanctae Idae tumulum deferret' (begin. of 10th cent., Pertz 2, 573). At the same time even these authorities teach us an important distinction: the Greek brought his *ἀνάθημα* out of gratitude, when the malady was healed; the German hung up the limb in the temple or at the cross-roads, with a view to obtain relief thereby, '*opitulaturo* idolo,' and 'per nullam aliam artem *salvari* vos credatis.' And for this purpose a *wooden* or perhaps *waxen* image sufficed, which would have been a paltry present to the succouring deity; conf. another passage from Gregory in my RA. 674, and Ruinart's note thereon. So that this German heathenry is of a piece with the sorcery by wax images (p. 1091), and with heathen sacrifices, which kept up an analogy between the thing prayed for and the thing offered: those who wished for children presented a *child of wax, wood* or *silver,* while conversely a figure of wax or silver served as penance for slaying the body. But what shocked the early teachers as sheer paganism was afterwards humoured and licensed by the church. A votive tablet at Alt-öttingen represents an unhappy man with an arrow passing through his eyebrow into the eye-pupil (Schm. 1, 242).[1] At places famed for pilgrimages we find hands, feet, etc. of wood or wax fastened to the walls; outside the church were *hung up* the *crutches* on which the sick had come, and which they needed no longer in going away healed: 'ut incredibilis materies *scabellorum* atque *oscillorum* post perceptam sanitatem a redeuntibus ibi remaneret,' Acta Bened. sec. v, p. 102; conf. Pertz 2, 574. Among the Greeks the sick often slept in the temple of the deity in whom they put their trust, and received *in a dream* instructions as to cure;[2] much the same occurs in medieval legends, e.g. that passage in the Life of St. Ida. Put together with this the first dream in a new house or stable, p. 1146 (see Suppl.).

There were superstitious signs, by observing which you could tell whether one dangerously ill would fall a prey or get well: the cries, the flight, the wheeling of birds have been noticed on p. 1135. Burchardt (Sup. C, 195^{d}) instances the lifting up of stones to see if any live beast were underneath; which is like snatching up a handful of earth and looking for a living creature in it (F, 9). The look of the bird Galadrôt, and the position of Death, whether at the patient's head or feet (p. 853) were significant omens. That *standing at the feet* was an advantage we find already in Pliny 30, 10 [24]: 'Eundem (ricinum, tick) in augurio vitalium habent: nam si aeger ei respondeat qui intulerit, *a pedibus stanti* interrogantique de morbo, spem vitae certam esse: moriturum nihil respondere. Adjiciunt, ut evellatur (ricinus) ex aure laeva canis cui non sit alius quam niger color.' ——It is believed in Scotland to this day, that if you cannot see the mannikin in the sick man's eye, he is sure to die: the bystander's image is no longer mirrored in the lustreless pupil of the breaking eye. And as far back as the AS. dialogue between Adrian and Ritheus (Thorpe p. 48): 'Saga me, on hwâm mæig man geseon mannes deáð? Ic þe secge, twege *manlîcan* beoð *on mannes eágum*: gif þû þâ ne gesihst, þonne swilt (dies) se man, and bið gewiten (gone) ær þrim dagum.' Put by the side of this, that the κόρη is not to be seen in a bewitched man's eyes either, and in a witch's eye it is seen upside down, or double (pp. 1074-80). When a dying man cannot get his release, a *shingle* of the roof is to be *turned* (Sup. I, 439), three *tiles taken up* (721), or any hollow house-utensil *inverted* (664). The like means are adopted in convulsions (853) and childbirth (561): 'if it go hard with her in travail, the husband shall *take three shingles out of the roof*, and put them in again wrong side up,' Ettn. hebamme p. 663; conf. supra p. 1116.

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[1] Diseases also were hung up pictorially: thus, before miraculous images in Bavaria and Austria, among the waxen hands and feet you may see a crab- or toad-like figure, understood to be the 'ber-mutter' that crawled about in the body, Schm. 1, 188. Höfer 1, 78. Wolf's Deutsche sagen p. 491.

[2] Jac. Phil. Tomasini de donariis ac tabellis votivis, Patavii 1654, 4, cap. 34, p. 214—26 vota pro aegrotantium salute.

I have kept to the last what I had to say of the *plague* and the numerous traditions based on its appearing. After great floods, when heavy fog and sultry mist poison the air, it suddenly breaks out and spreads resistless over the earth.

To the Gr. λοιμός (p. 888) correspond, in gender as well, our OHG. *sterpo, scelmo* (MHG. schelme), Gl. jun. 219 *scalmo*, fihusterbo, ON. *skelmis-drep* or *drep* alone; OHG. *wuol*, Diut. 1,

501^{a}, AS. *wôl,* gen. wôles. The Latin names *pestis, lues* are fem., so are the Serv. *kuga, moriya;* but masc. again the Boh. Pol. *mor,* Lith. *maras,* Lett. *mehris.* The Serv. Slov. kuga is the M. Nethl. *koghe* (Detmar 1, 81. 113. 127. 148. 377), and even a MHG. poem (Meyer and Mooyer, p. 46^{a}) has *koge.* MHG. usually '*der gâhe tôt,*' swift death, Wigal. 3726 (Nethl. *gâ-dôt,* Maerl. 1, 230. 293); but also '*der grosse tôd,*' great death, Swed. *diger-döden* (ON. digr crassus, tumidus); ON. *svarti dauði,* Dan. '*den sorte död,*' black death, perhaps even in allusion to *Surtr* (p. 809).[1]

To the Greeks the whizzing shafts of wrathful *Apollo* brought the plague: a man dying suddenly is slain by *Apollo's* artillery, a woman by that of *Artemis;* conf. the *destroying angel,* 2 Sam. 24, 16. *Hermes,* protector of the flock, carries round it the *ram,* to ward off murrain; afterwards he *carries it round the city* also, *Κριοφόρος.*[2] Virgins were sacrificed to stay the ravages of pestilence. Pliny 26, 9 [60] says a maiden can cure boils (panos) by laying verbascum on them: Experti affirmavere plurimum referre, si virgo imponat nuda, jejuna jejuno, et manu supina tangens dicat, '*Negat Apollo pestem posse crescere,* cui *nuda virgo restinguat!*' atque retrorsa manu ter dicat, totiesque despuant ambo. The ceremony was transferred from the heavy scourge to lighter ones: the disrobing of the maiden was required for allaying drought (p. 593-4), and in many other cases (see Suppl.).

That *angel of death* means Death himself, who comes to gather his own. A Lombard legend speaks of two angels, a good and a bad, who traverse the land: 'Pari etiam modo haec pestilentia Ticinum quoque depopulata est, ita ut cunctis civibus per juga montium seu per diversa loca fugientibus, in foro et per plateas civitatis herbae et fructeta nascerentur. Tuncque visibiliter multis apparuit, quia *bonus* et *malus angelus noctu per civitatem pergerent,* et ex jussu boni angeli malus angelus, qui videbatur venabulum manu ferre, *quotiens de venabulo ostium cujuscunque*

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[1] Paul. Diac. 2, 4, paints a desolating plague in colours that recall the vivid picture Boccaccio has sketched by way of Introd. to his Decameron. How Sweden and Norway were wasted during the Great Plague, is described in Afzelius 4, 179. 180 and especially in Faye, pp. 135—148, after beautiful folk-tales.

[2] 'Massilienses quoties pestilentia laborabant, *unus se ex pauperioribus offerebat* alendus anno integro publicis et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris *circumducebatur per totam civitatem* cum exsecrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala civitatis, et sic projiciebatur,' Petron. cap. 141.

domus percussisset, tot de eadem domo die sequenti homines interirent. Tunc per revelationem cuidam dictum est, quod pestis ipsa prius non quiesceret quam in basilica beati Petri, quae ad vincula dicitur, sancti Sebastiani martyris altarium poneretur. Factum est, et delatis ab urbe Roma b. Sebastiani reliquiis, mox ut in jam dicta basilica altarium constitutum est, *pestis ipsa quievit,*' Paul. Diac. 6, 5. In the year 589, when the Tiber had overflowed, and a plague had arisen which carried off many men, St Gregory ordered a solemn procession of the Cross; 80 people in the church dropped down 'allen gâhes' at his feet and died; then, rising from prayer, 'sach er stên ûf dem Dietrîches hûse einen *engel mit pluotigem swerte,* der *wiskete daz selbe swert durch sinen gêren* (wiped it on his skirt). do verstuont (understood) der heilige man, daz der êwige Vater sînes zornes hin ze den liuten erwinden wolte,' would turn from his anger.[1]

Like such an angel of death, the Norse *Hel* rides about on her *steed* (pp. 314. 844), which is no other than the *dead-horse* seen in churchyards, p. 1142 (see Suppl.).

A Voigtland tradition makes the plague come on as a *blue vapour, shaped like a cloud,* Jul. Schmidt p. 158. By this is meant the sultry mist that precedes a pestilence; 'blue vapour' suggests the fire of the Thunder-god, p. 178. A plague that raged in the Odenwald shewed itself in the shape of a *little blue flame* in the sacristy of the *town-church* at Erbach; and they *walled it in.* In Amm. Marcel. 23, 6 (A.D. 363): 'Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum (Apollinis simulacrum), incensa civitate (Seleucia), milites *fanum* scrutantes invenere *foramen angustum: quo reserato* ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis *labes primordialis exsiluit,* quæ insanabilium vi concepta morborum, ejusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus *ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.*' ——Again, in the year 1709 the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed *into a hole of the lime-tree* in the churchyard, then a plug kept ready for the purpose, and fitting exactly, was driven in; since which she has never contrived to shew her face in the country again (Tettau and Temme p. 222). This agrees with the *blocking-up* of Unsælde and the shrewmouse (pp. 878. 1168), but also with the general notion of diseases being transferable to trees. The immuring of the plague in *church and temple* is based on its having issued from the divinity (see Suppl.).

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[1] Deutsche predigten ed. by K. Roth p. 76; conf. Hoffm. fundgr. 1, 77. Greg. Tur. 10, 1. 2. *Dietrich's house* is the moles Hadriani, named St. Angelo's castle after this very angel who shewed himself to the praying processionists. Our legends like to name large Roman buildings after Theoderic, notably the amphitheatre of Verona, Deut. heldensage pp. 40, 203.

Augustine's De verbo apostol. 168 pictures the plague as a *woman that prowls about*, and can be bought off with money: 'Proverbium est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis; Pun. enim prov. est antiquum: *Numum vult Pestilentia?* duos illi da, et ducat se.'

During the great pestilence under Justinian, men saw brazen barks on the sea, and black men without heads sitting in them: wherever they sailed to, the plague at once broke out. In a city of Egypt the only inhabitants left alive were seven men and a boy ten years old; they were escaping with their valuables, when in a house near the town-gate all the men dropped down dead, and the boy alone fled; but under the gate a spectre seized him, and dragged him back into the house. Soon after, a rich man's steward came to fetch goods out of the house, and the boy warned him to haste away: at the same instant both man and boy fell dead to the ground. So says bishop John (Assemanni biblioth. orient. 2, 86-7).

The Mod. Greeks think of the plague as a *blind woman* that wanders through the towns from house to house, killing all she can touch. But she goes groping and feeling round the wall, and if you are wise enough to keep in the middle of the room, she can't get at you. According to one folk-tale, it is *three terrible women* that traverse the towns in company, one carrying a large paper, another a pair of scissors, the third a broom. Together they walk into the house where they mean to find victims: the first enters their names on her list, the next wounds them with her scissors, the last sweeps them away (Fauriel's Disc. prél. lxxxiii). Here are the three Fates (p. 410) or Furies and Eumenids converted into death-goddesses.

There is a beautiful Breton lay in Villemarqué 1, 46—51, called *Bosen Elliant*, the Elliant plague. A miller, so goes the tale, saw a *woman robed in white* sitting, staff in hand, at the ford of the river, wishing to be *carried over*. He took her on his horse, and set her down on the other side. Then she said, 'Young man, and knowst thou whom thou hast put across? I am the *Plague;* and now having ended my journey round Bretagne, I will go to mass in Elliant church; every one whom I touch with my staff, shall speedily die, but thee and thy mother no harm shall befall.' And so it came to pass: all the people in that bourg died, save the poor widow and her son. Another folksong makes him convey her *on his shoulders:* nine children are carried out of one house, the churchyard is filled up to the walls: 'beside the churchyard stands an *oak,* to its top is tied a white kerchief, for the Plague has snatched away all the people.' She was banished at last by songs being sung about her: when she heard herself called by her name, she withdrew from the land, and never came back. The request to be *carried across* is exactly like those of the goddess Berhta and beings of elf kind.

Of the Lithuanian *Giltine,* plague or death-goddess, I should like to know fuller accounts. She massacres without mercy: 'kad tawę Giltine pasmaugtu (plague choke thee)!' is a familiar imprecation (Mielcke sub v. Donaleitis 141). The plague is also named *Magila* [Sl. mogíla, a grave], or simply *diewe* (goddess), and they say in cursing 'imma ji Magilos, imma ji diewai!' From Polish Lithuania, Adam Mickiewicz[1] reports as follows on the *morowa dziewica,* plague-maiden:—

Kiedy zaraza Litwę ma uderzyć,
jéj przyjście wieszcza odgadnie źrzenica;
bo jeśli sljuszna waidelotom wierzyć,
nieraz na pustych smętarzach i bljoniach
staje widomie *morowa dziewica*
w bieliznie, z wiankiem ognistym na skroniach,
czoljem przenosi bialjowieskie drzewa
a w ręku chustką skrwawioną powiéwa.
Dziewica stąpa kroki zljowieszczemi
na siolja, zamki i bogate miasta;
a ile razy krwawe chustką skinie,
tyle palaców zmienia się w pustynie;
gdzie nogą stąpi, świeży grób wyrasta.[2]

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[1] Konrad Wallenrod's Poezye, Warszawie 1832. p. 96.

[2] 'When a plague smites Lithuania . . . then, if we may believe the waidelots, in lone burial-grounds and fields stands visible the plague-maiden in white raiment with fiery wreath about her temples, bears on her brow divining-rods (?), and in her hand *a blood-stained kerchief waves.* The maiden steps with deliberate pace into villages, castles and wealthy towns; whenever she spreads out her gory kerchief, palaces turn into wildernesses; where with her foot she steps, a fresh grave grows

Woycicki, 1, 51, calls her *Powietrze,* which properly means air, vapour (p. 1183), but also plague. Clothed in white, she stalks along on stilts, tells her name to a man she meets, and wants to be carried *on his shoulders* through all the Russias: amidst the dead and dying he shall go unhurt. Well, he carries her through thorp and town: where she *waves her kerchief,* everybody dies, and all men flee before them. Arrived at the Pruth, he thought to drown her, and jumped into the river, but up she floated light as a feather, and flew to the woodland, while he sank to the bottom.

In another story 1, 127 she is called *Dżuma* (Russ. Serv. chuma): while she prevails, the villages stand deserted, the cocks are hoarse and cannot crow, the dogs no longer bark, yet they scent the Plague from afar (p. 666), and growl. A peasant saw her, *in white garb* and waving hair, clear a high fence and run up a ladder, to escape the howling dogs: he hurries up to the ladder and pushes it over, so that the Plague fell among the dogs; then she disappeared, still threatening vengeance.

Sometimes the *Dżuma* rides through the wood in a waggon, attended by owls and uhus (great horned owl): this ghostly procession is named *Homen,* Woyc. 1 ,130—3. 159—163. But the Plague could only last till New-year's day; then those who have fled troop back to their homes, taking care however not to walk in through the door, but to climb in at the window.

A tale narrated by a Wendish peasant, Joh. Parum Schulze,[1] falls somewhere in the middle of the 17th century: So it came to pass, that a man, as I have always heard tell, that was Niebuhr by name, where now Kuffalen dwell, that was afterward Luchau, as he rideth home from town, there comes a *man* alongside, and begs that he may ride a little in the cart, for that he was right weary. This Hans Niebuhr asks him in Wendish, as that tongue was then commonly used, 'whence, and whither away?' and takes him up on the cart. At first he will not declare himself, but this Niebuhr, being somewhat drunken, begins to question more sharply. Then he declared himself, saying, 'I will to thy

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up.' I am not sure that I have rightly rendered 'bialjowieskie drzewa,' nor whether the adj. can be conn. with 'bialowieszcka' p. 474 n.

[1] Of Süten village, Küsten parish, Lüneburg. About 1740 he composed a chronicle, Ann. der Br. Lüneb. churlande, jahrg. 8, Hanover 1794. p. 282-3.

village with thee, where I have not yet been; for I am *der Pest* (m.)' Then did Niebuhr intreat for his life, and the Plague gave him this lesson, that he should leave him in the cart outside the village, and *strip naked* and have no clothing at all on his body, but [going home,] take his *pot-hook,* and coming out before his house, *run all round his homestead with the sun, and then bury it under the doorstep:* 'if one but carry me not in' quoth the *Pest,* 'in the smell that hangs about the clothes.' Now this Niebuhr leaves him in the cart a good piece from the village, for it was night; takes the *pot-hanger,* runs *naked out of the village and all round it,* then sticks the iron under the bridge, which iron I myself saw in the year 1690 when the bridge was mended, but nigh eaten away with rust. When this Niebuhr came back for his horse and cart, quoth the Plague: 'had I known this, I had not declared myself to thee, this device whereby thou hast *locked me out of the whole village.*' When they were come up to the village, Niebuhr takes his horses out of the cart, and leaves him sitting thereon. Neither was any sickness from pestilence perceived in that village; but in all the villages around the plague did mightily rage.

So far Schulze's homely narrative. Removing the *pot-hook* off the hearth seems to stand for leaving the house open: from a deserted house death has nothing to take. As the retiring householder symbolically 'lets down the *haal* on the hearth,' the new one on taking possession must 'tuck it up' again.[1] Running round the house or village resembles that carrying of the ram round the city, and the undressing agrees with the Roman custom.

Then, as the Plague is slow of foot, she gets herself driven into the village in a cart, or lugged in pickaback, like homesprites and will o' wisps that jump on men's shoulders, pp. 512-3. 916.

Swedish stories make the Plague enter a village from the south, and stand still before the first homestead, looking like a pretty *little boy* with a rasp or grater (rifva) in his hand, and rasping with it. When he did that, there still remained one or two alive in a house, as the *grater* could not take everything along with it. But when he got to the next village, there came after him the *Plague-damsel* (pestflicka), she swept with a *broom* outside the gate, then all in the village died. But she was very seldom seen, and never except at daybreak (Afzelius 4, 179).

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[1] Wulfter's Deduction, beil. nos. 4. 5. 135.

In Vestergötland they had decreed a human sacrifice to stay the 'digerdöd,' and *two beggar children* having just then come in, were to be *buried alive in the ground.* They soon dug the pit open, gave the hungry children cake spread with lard, and made them sit down in the pit: while they ate, the people shovelled up the earth. 'Oh,' cried the younger child, when the first spadeful was thrown over it, 'here's some dirt fallen on my bread and lard.' A mound was quickly thrown up over them, and nothing more was heard of them (Afz. 4, 181). Compare the walling up of children in the foundation of a new building, p. 1142, and the offering of a young heifer in the holy fire during cattle-plague, p. 608.

In Norway the *Pesta* is imagined as a *pale old woman* who travelled about the country with a *grater* (rive, a toothed instrument for tearing up sods or hay and corn) and a *broom* (lime): when she used the grater, some few got off with their lives, but where the besom came into play, there perished every born soul. A man having rowed her *over a piece of water,* and demanding his fare, she said, 'you'll find your quittance on the bench at home;' and no sooner was he home, than he sickened and died. She often appears *in red clothing,* and whoever beholds her falls into a great fear (Faye p. 135).

The Servians say their *Kuga* is a real woman, who goes *wrapt in a white veil*: many have seen her so, and some have carried her. She came to one man in the field, or met him on the road, and said, 'I am the *Kuga,* carry me to such a place!' He took her up pickaback, and without any trouble carried her whither she would. The Kugas (plagues) have a country of their own by the sea, but God sends them when people do wickedly and sin much. While the plague rages they never call her *kuga,* but *kuma* (cummer, gossip), to make her friendly. And during that time they dare not leave any vessels unwashed at night, for she will pass through the kitchen, and if she spy any such, will scour and polish all the spoons and dishes (which detains her in the house); at times she even makes away with the bacon out of the loft, Wtb. sub v. Kuga; and new ed. of Serv. songs 1, 149 note.

Here again she comes out in the fashion of ancient goddesses, Holda and Berhta, who cannot abide disorder in the house, pp. 268. 274.

Among the Slovèns, cattle-plague (kuga) is a *spotted calf* that kills sheep and oxen by its cry (Murko p. 74).

The devil is reported to have said, there was but one cure for the kuga, that was mattock and hoe, meaning burial (Vuk sub v. metil).

A Finnic song (Schröter 60) adjures the Plague to take herself away to steely mountains in the gloomy North: saddle-horse and carriage-horse shall be given her for the journey. She is called *rutto*, the sudden, like our MHG. gâhe tôt.

In L. Germany they have folktales about the *Heidmann* (heath man) who *peeps in at your window* at night: any one he looks at then, must die within year and day; just so does Berhta look in at the window (p. 274), so does Death (p. 772). In Tyrol too they tell of a ghost that goes about at the time of one's death: whatever *window he looks into*, people die in that house, DS. no. 266.

In the Lausitz *Smertnitsa in white array* prowls about the villages: to whatever house she directs her step, a corpse will soon be there. In the house itself she announces her presence by thumping and turning the boards up. Convulsions in the dying are signs that Smertnitsa is getting the better of them, Laus. mon. schr. 1797. p. 756.

There cannot be the slightest doubt left, that all these various personifications of the plague are to be viewed as effluences of superior divinities of antiquity, whose might, merciful and awful, they display by turns. Veiled in white they stride along, like Berhta, and like the mother that walks in the corn at noon. Plague-maiden and fate-maiden meet and touch, morowa dziewica with Marena, Morena (p. 771), the harmful goddess with the healing pitying Eir (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HERBS AND STONES.

Pliny has thrown a peculiar charm over his Natural History by not disdaining to record minutely even the superstitious views of the vulgar about animals and plants. How his reverence for antiquity, his elegance of exposition, stand out against the dry gravity of our present students of nature, who never waste a glance on the customs of their country, and to whom all the force and grace of Teutonic idiom is but small beer (see Suppl.).

'*Krût, steine* unde *wort* hânt an kreften grôzen hort' (herb and stone and wholesome word have of healing powers rich hoard), says our Freidank 111, 6; and as there lies in dwarfs a special acquaintance with the healing virtues hidden in herbs (pp. 450-1 n. 457), it is worth noticing, that in the mouth of a king of that race, Goldemar (pp. 453. 466. 509) is placed the dictum, 'Christianos fidem in *verbis,* Judæos in *lapidibus* pretiosis, et Paganos in *herbis* ponere,' Meibom's Script. 1, 186. Paganism does present a rich store of mythical notions on the origin and manifold virtues of these plants.

1. Herbs.

As among men, so among Herbs, the noble tower above the base: they were created by gods in some secluded sacred spot, they sprouted up where innocent blood had been shed, they were brought over by birds, and so on. Under the goddess's footfall the flower springs up, as all growth withers where sorrowing lovers part. On the mountain's top, to which the lover had carried up his dying love, and poured out her last reviving draught, grew healing herbs that blessed the land at large (Marie de Fr. 1, 268). Mountains foster what is rarest in the realm of plants. Zeus and Hera laid them down on Ida's top (Il. 14, 347):

τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον,
πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργε·

(under them bountiful earth teemed up a *new* vegetation, dew-sprinkled clover and saffron and hyacinth, thick and soft, etc.). A similar *bed of flowers* still haunts the imagination of our Minnesingers (Walth. 39. 40. Hadloub 2, 194-5), but men have to gather the grass and flowers for that amid singing of birds. To the Medieval way of thinking it was most natural to make healing herbs grow out of the graves of holy men, as we plant flowers on the tomb and pick some for remembrance. Even on the huorco's barrow grows wound-healing rosamarina, the plucking of which turns men into doves, Pentam. 4, 8. The saint's grave nourishes a peartree, whose fruit cures the sick forthwith (Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 47). We have seen p. 1178n. how at the foot of a holy statue a *nova species* (quite the Homeric νεοθηλής above) grew up to the skirt of the robe, and then became a healing plant[1]; with this I connect what Pliny tells us 24, 19 [106]: '*herba in capite statuae nata,* collectaque alicujus in vestis panno et alligata in lino rufo, capitis dolorem confestim sedare traditur' (see Suppl.).

Many herbs and flowers are *named after gods,* but as we are seldom told the occasion of a name being given, it admits of more than one explanation. The god produced the plant, or he uses it, he loves it, loathes it, in shape or colour it resembles some part of his person, his raiment, arms, and so forth. Thus the names *Baldrs brâ* (p. 222, conf. supercilium Veneris), *Freyju hâr* (p. 303) come from the beaming lustre of the flower; *Forneotes folme* (p. 240), *Niarðar vöttr* (p. 218) from the leaves lying like five fingers side by side. *Donner-rebe* (-vine) is the Lett. Pehrkones. *Donnerkraut, Donnerbesen* (p. 183) may, like barba Jovis, be accounted for by the bushy tanglement of their tendrils; but how *Perunika* (p. 183) stands related to Perun, I do not know. *Devil's-bit* is from the marks of teeth supposed to be visible in its root, and due to diabolic agency. A great many names are taken from *beasts,* especially those of our native fable, and fancy has been equally busy on them.

Of flowers and herbs the Sanskrit distinguishes the wholesome by the adjunct 'friend,' the hurtful by 'foe,' as *Ramâpriya,* dear to Lakshmi = lotus, *Yamapriya,* dear to Yama = ficus indica, conf. Pott's Etym. for. 2, 424—7. This agrees with OHG. *gotafargezzan,* marrubium album (Graff 4, 279), MLG. *got-vorghetene* (Brun's Beitr. p. 48) and the phrase 'ergaz im Got,' Gramm. 4, 175 (supra p. 21); the herb is our andorn (horehound).

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[1] The healing power imparted by the *skirt of the garment* was very likely suggested by the Biblical 'touching of the hem,' Matt. 9, 20. 14, 36. Mk 6, 56. Luke 8, 44.

Other plants beyond a doubt derive their divine names from their healing power being first *made known* to mortals by the gods. With the Greeks, *Athena* and *Artemis* appear to have been active in this line; and I think they are represented amongst our goddesses by *Frigg* and *Freyja,* or whoever took their place afterwards, *St. Mary* above all. The *artemisia* was apparently discovered or revealed by Artemis [Pliny 25, 36, 25], the *proserpinaca* by Proserpine 27, 12 [104]. The παρθένιον was shown by the divine *Παρθένος,* as Pliny relates, 22, 17 [20]: 'verna carus Pericli Atheniensium principi, cum in arce templum aedificaret repsissetque super altitudinem fastigii et inde cecidisset, hac herba dicitur sanatus, *monstrata* Pericli *somnio* a *Minerva,* quare *parthenium* vocari coepta est, assignaturque ei deae.' Of the lappa he says, 24, 18 [116]: 'medetur et suibus, effossa sine ferro; quidam adjiciunt et fodientem dicere oportere, Haec est herba argemon, *quam Minerva reperit,* suibus remedium qui de illa gustaverint;' ἄργεμον = albugo in the eye. Hermes pulls out of the ground for Odysseus the φάρμακον mighty against magic: μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, Od. 10, 305 (p. 369). Does the *Iris* owe its name to the messenger of the gods, or the white hue of the lily, or other causes? In christian times an *angel* reveals the *angelica* in a dream, Aw. 1, 159 (see Suppl.).

The names borrowed from animals may gain much in meaning by the animals themselves being connected with the service of gods. Thus there need only a myth underlie such names as bären-klaue, wolfs-milch, OHG. wolves-zeisala, AS. wulfes-tæsel, and AS. hræfnes-leác, to bring to light some relation in which the herb stands to dawn (p. 743-4), to the hero suckled by the she-wolf, to the cordial conveyed by the god's messenger. We find a convincing example in the *spechts-wurzel,* pecker's root, brought by the sacred bird (p. 673), who probably gave his name to one of the grand woods of our olden time, *Spehtes-hart* (Spessart): not only does it serve to burst open the plug, but he protects the peony especially from being plucked (p. 973). The healing *παιωνία* was associated with *Παιών* the divine physician, and it is precisely the wounded Ares that he doctors (Il. 5, 900); in which I see a new point of connexion between Ares and Roman Mars, whose bird the woodpecker was. Athena too was named *Παιωνία.* Now I think it is not without a bearing on this matter, that our Zio himself has a herb named after him: ON. *Tŷ-viðr,* Dan. *Tys-ved,* daphne mezereum (p. 199), which might have been in OHG. Zio-witu, Ziowes-witu, i.e. Martis arbor, lignum, frutex; but instead of exactly this name, we find a corresponding one, which I believe I can explain more correctly now than at p. 428, note 2. I then thought of Sigelint, but as the spelling *Cigelinta,* i.e. Zige-linta, preponderates (Graff 5, 627), as *Zîlant* (659) seems synonymous, and as beside *Zeiland* we have in Austria to this day *Zillind, Zwilind, Zwilinde* meaning the same daphne,[1] the real old spelling comes to light, *Zio-linta,* answering in form and substance to Tŷviðr. For linta is not only lime-tree, but also liber, bast, and we call the plant indifferently seidel-baum and seidel-bast (for zeilinde-baum, -bast), and it is commonly applied as a healing drug (Höfer 3, 135). An AS. Tiwes-wudu, Tiges-wudu, Tiges-lind is readily inferred. Now whether daphne and pæonia be related or distinct, matters nothing to their mythical analogy; Pliny says the peony was also called pentorobon, *πεντόροβον,* from its bearing four or five peas; its Boh. name is wlči lyko, i.e. *wolf's bast,* Fr. *garou,* i.e. loup-garou, werewolf. I will now pick out a few remarkable names of plants from F. Magnusen's Lex. 758-9. The viola *Martis,* Fr. violette de *Mars,* is in Iceland called *Tŷs*-fiôla, *Tŷrs*-fiôla: this may be a mere translation of the Latin name, which alludes more to the month than the god, like our own märz-viole. There is more in the Norw. *Tyri-hialm* or *Thor-hialm, Thoralm, Thor-hat* for aconitum or monk's-hood, to which answers our *eisen-hütlein* (iron hat), Swed. Dan. *storm-hat,* apparently from the flower resembling in shape a helmet or hat; but the same plant is called wolfs-kraut, wolfs-wurz, Dan. ulve-urt, Engl. *wolf's bane,* Dan. *ulve-bane, ulve-död,* which may be understood of Tŷr's fight with the wolf, and moreover likened to the wolf's bast and garou above, as several other names waver between daphne and aconitum. And wolf's bast may even suggest the three bands laid on the Fenris-ûlfr, 'læðîng' (Dan. leding, Molb. dial. lex. p. 317), 'drômi' and 'gleipnir,' S. 33-4-5. There was yet another name for daphne given on p. 377: *Wieland's berry,* together with a Scand. *Velands urt* for the medicinal valerian; names which carry us back, if not to a god, to one of our greatest heroes of old, whose father was the wise leech *Wate* (see Suppl.).

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[1] This too in districts that say Er-tag and not Zis-tag for Tuesday (pp. 124. 201); so that in the plant's name Zio-worship took a wider range.

But there is only a small number of herbs named after gods or heroes, compared with those referable to goddesses and wise women. Most of these are now given to *Mary,* who in this case, as in that of pretty little beetles (p. 694) and brilliant stars (p. 726), replaces the elder *Frouwa. Frauen-schühli* is trefolium melilotus, whose flower resembles a shoe, in some places *Marien-pantöffelchen;* was *Cypripedium* calceolus Veneris formed in imitation? *Fraua-menteli, ösa* (our) *fraua-menteli* (Tobler 204^b), alchemilla vulg., from its leaves being folded mantle-wise. *Fraua-seckeli* (-satchel), geum rivale, ibid. *Freyju-hâr* stands for several kinds of fern (supra p. 303); does it independently answer to herba capillaris, *capillus Veneris* in Apuleius's Herb. 47, or was it borrowed from it? *Frauen-trän, Marien-thräne,* orchis mascula (Stald. 1, 296), reminds of 'helenium e lacrimis Helenae natum,' Pliny 21, 10 [33], still more of Freyja's golden tears, 'grâtr Freyju,' Sn. 128. 132 (conf. p. 325), and the flowers and precious stones that drop when goddesses laugh or weep (p. 1101); a costly wine is called *unser liebfrauen-milch.* How a flower came to be called *Mother-of-God's mirror,* is told in the nursery-legend. *Frauen-schlössli, frauen-schlüssel,* primula veris, Stald. 1, 124, otherwise himmels-schlüssel (heaven's key), schlüssel-blume; because it unlocks the spring, or opens treasure? it has yet more names, and is the medicinal betonica, of which more anon. As these plants are all natives of our meadows, it is not likely that their names were drawn from Latin, and only came into vogue in the last few centuries; though in OHG. glosses we find no herb compounded with frouwa. It were too daring to trace the *oster-blume* (ôster-gloie, Ms. 2, 61^a) back to *Ostarâ, Eástre,* as the form of name can, like *maiblume,* be explained by the season of its blossoming; these maybells were offered in sacrifice (p. 58), were borne by white-women (p. 963), and to pick them before sunrise is recommended in Sup. I, 1075 (see Suppl.).

Flowers are a feminine adornment, young maidens twine the wreath, sage matrons cull the herb. Marner says prettily, Ms. 2, 174ª: 'ez riuchet (smells) als ein *edel krût* ûz einer *megde* hant.' Why should not the wise women of even our earliest eld have been skilled in herb-lore? it is ascribed to witches and old women still, and apparently it is not without a meaning that from healing herbs the witches select names for themselves or their admirer (p. 1063). All witches' herbs may most appropriately be called *beschrei*-kraut, *beruf*-kraut (speak ill, becall, bewitch), though the names have also been applied to particular plants.

The culling and fetching of herbs had to be done at particular times, and according to long-established forms (see Suppl.).

Mostly before sunrise, when the day is young: 'herba quacunque a rivis aut fluminibus *ante solis ortum* collecta, ita ut *nemo colligentem videat*,' Pliny 24, 19 [107]. 'praecipiunt aliqui effossuris (anagallida), *ante solis ortum, priusquam quidquam aliud loquantur, ter salutare eam*, tum sublatam exprimere; ita praecipuas esse vires,' 25, 13 [92]. 'aiunt, si quis *ante solis ortum* eam (chamelaeam) capiat, dicatque ad albugines oculorum se capere, adalligata discuti id vitium' 24, 14 [82]. 'et hanc (Samolum herbam) sinistra manu legi *a jejunis*' 24, 11 [63]. 'radicem (pistolochiae) *ante solis ortum* erutam involvunt lana' 20, 4 [14]. The viscus was gathered at new moon, prima luna 24, 4 [6]; the verbenaca 'circa Canis ortum, ita ut *ne luna aut sol conspiciat*' 25, 9 [59]. Unseen by man or heavenly body, silent and fasting, shall the collector approach the sacred herb. Lilies of the valley are to be culled *before sunrise*, devil's-bit at *midnight of St. John's eve*, Sup. I, 190. 1075.

Pliny 25, 3 [6] tells of a plant called by the Romans *herba Britannica*, because brought from the isles between Germany and Britain (ex oceani insulis extra terras positis 27, 1): 'Florem *vibones* vocant, qui collectus *priusquam tonitrua audiantur* (is not that between lightning and thunder?) et devoratus, securos a fulminibus in totum reddit. Frisii, qua castra erant, nostris demonstravere illam; mirorque nominis causam, nisi forte confines oceano Britanniae velut propinquae dicavere; non enim inde appellatam eam quoniam ibi plurima nasceretur certum est, etiamnum Britannia libera.' Here we have a plant held in esteem by the ancient Germans themselves, and the injunction to gather it before hearing thunder (that year?) sounds quite Teutonic. It protected from lightning, was therefore sacred to the Thunder-god, like the house-leek, which is also called donner-wehr. AS. glosses render the Britannica by *hæwenhýðele;* hæwen is glaucus, the second word may come from hûð praeda, or hýðe portus; in the latter case it would mean something like blue sea-flower. Anyhow it was a water-plant, hydrolapathum it is thought. I would gladly recognise in it the *seeblatt* so sacred to the Frisians and Zealanders (p. 654), whose flower is said to be white or yellow; its names *nixblume* and *mummel* call to mind the Indian names for the lotus, Ramâpriya, dear to Rama or Lakshmi, and Srîvâsa, Srî's house = Lakshmi's, who came up out of the sea (see Suppl.).

In digging up a herb, the Roman custom was, first to pour mead and honey round it, as if to propitiate the earth, then to cut round the root with a sword, looking toward the east (or west), and the moment it is pulled out to lift it on high without letting it touch the ground. '*Favis* ante et *melle* terrae *ad piamentum datis, circumscriptam ferro* (verbenacam) effodi *sinistra manu* et *sublime tolli,*' Pliny 25, 9 [59]. 'et fossuri (iridem), tribus ante mensibus *mulsa aqua circumfusa,* hoc veluti placamento *terrae blandiuntur, circumscripta mucrone gladii orbe triplici,* et cum legerint eam *protinus in coelum attollunt*' 21, 7 [19]. 'nigrum elleborum melampodion vocant, quo et domos suffiunt purgantque, spargentes et pecora, cum precatione solemni; hoc et religiosius colligitur: primum enim *gladio circumscribitur,* dein qui succisurus est *ortum spectat,* et precatur ut liceat sibi concedentibus Diis facere; observatque *aquilae volatus* (fere enim secantibus interest), et si *prope advolavit,* moriturum illo anno qui succidat augurium est' 25, 5 [21]. 'cavent effossuri (mandragoram) contrarium ventum, et *tribus circulis ante gladio circumscribunt,* postea fodiunt *ad occasum spectantes*' 25, 13 [94]. In some cases, when the root had been dug out and made use of, it was put in again, that it might live on: 'hanc (senecionem) si *ferro circumscriptam* effodiat aliquis, tangatque ea dentem et alternis ter despuat, ac *reponat in eundem locum* ita *ut vivat herba,* aiunt dentem eum postea non doliturum' 25, 13 [106].

A great point was to guard against *cold iron* touching the root (hence *gold* or *redhot iron* was used in cutting), and against the herb pulled up, or the branch cut off, touching the ground:[1] 'radicem (pistolochiae) ante solis ortum erutam *involvunt lana* coloris quem nativum vocant. quidam *auro effodiendam* censent, cavendumque *ne terram adtingat*' 20, 4 [14]. '(viscum) collectum e robore *sine ferro,* si *terram non attigit,* comitialibus mederi (putant)' 24, 4 [6]. 'virgam e myrice defractam, ut *neque terram neque ferrum attingeret*' 24, 9 [41]. 'cavendum *ne* avulsa herba *terram tangat*' 25, 13. 'herba juxta quam canes urinam fundunt, evulsa *ne ferro attingatur,* luxatis celerrime medetur' 24, 19 [111].

In picking or pulling up, the operator used the *left hand;* in certain cases he had to do it *unbelted* and *unshod,* and to *state for whom and for what purpose* it was done: 'si quis unum ex his (pomis Punici mali), *solutus vinculo omni cinctus* et *calceatus* atque etiam *anuli,* decerpserit *duobus digitis, pollice et quarto sinistrae manus,* atque ita lustratis levi tactu oculis, mox in os additum devoraverit, ne dente contingat, affirmatur nullam oculorum imbecillitatem passurus eo anno' 23, 6 [59]. 'praecipitur ut *sinistra manu* ad hos usus eruatur (iris rufa), colligentesque dicant *cujus hominis* utique *causa* eximant' 21, 20 [83]. 'parthenium . . . magi contra tertianas *sinistra manu* evelli eam jubent, dicique cujus causa vellatur, nec respicere' 21, 30 [104]. 'pseudanchusa . . . folium ejus *sinistra* decerpi jubent magi, et *cujus causa* sumatur dici' 22, 20 [24]. 'praecipitur ut qui colligit (thlaspi) *dicat sumere* se contra inguina et contra omnes collectiones et contra vulnera, *unaque manu tollat*' 27, 13 [113]. 'autumnalis urticae radicem alligatam in tertianis, ita *ut aegri nuncupentur* cum eruitur ea radix, *dicaturque cui* et *quorum filio* eximatur, liberare morbo tradiderunt' 22, 14 [16]. 'buglosso inarescente, si quis medullam e caule eximat, *dicatque ad quem liberandum* febre id faciat' 26, 11 [71]. So Columella 6, 5 of the radicula, quam pastores *consiliginem* vocant; ea in Marsis montibus plurima nascitur, omnique pecori maxime est salutaris:

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[1] As they would not let witches touch the ground (p. 1074): the iarðar megin.

laeva manu effoditur *ante solis ortum,* sic enim lecta majorem vim creditur habere.

In our native tradition, now so scant and faded, I can find but little to match full accounts like these. An important statement is that of Burcard on the *bilisa* (hyoscyamus, henbane), 'quam virginem *nudam minimo digito dextrae manus* eruere faciunt, et radicitus erutam cum ligamine aliquo ad *minimum digitum dextri pedis* ligare'; the object has been stated p. 593. The nudity of the person pulling it up answers to the above-mentioned laying aside of belt and shoes, but the right hand and right foot are at variance with the Roman preference for left limbs. The whole ceremony however seems to have been equally known in Gaul, where the Romans, as will appear by and by, found a herb-ritual ready organized. An AS. Herbal prescribes thus for sore eyes, wið eágena sâre: '*ær sunnan upgange* oððe hwene *ær heo fullîce gesîgan* onginne (begin to sink), gâ tô þære ylcan wyrte *Proserpinacam,* and *bewrît* hî âbûtan mid *ânum gyldenum hringe,* and cweð (say) þæt þû hî tô eágena læcedôme niman wille (wilt take it for cure of eyes); æfter þrim dagon gâ æft þær-tô ær sunnangancge, and genim hî and hoh (take and hang it) onbûtan þæs mannes swyran (neck); heo framað wel.' For ælf-âdle: 'gang *on Ðunresæfen,* þonne *sunne on setle* sie, þær þû wite *Elenan* standan; sing þonne benedicite et pater noster, and sting þîn seax on þâ wyrte. læt stician eft tô þonne dæg, and niht furdum scâðe on þam ilcan ahte, gang ærest tô ciricean and þe gesena and Gode bebeod. gang þonne swîgende, and þeah þe hwæt-hwega egeslîces ongean cume, oððe man, ne cweð þû him ænig word tô, ær þû cume tô þære wyrte, þe þû on æfen ær gemearcodest; sing þonne benedicite and pater noster, âdelf þâ wyrt, *læt stician þæt seax* þæron. gange eft swâ þû raðost mæge tô ciricean, and lege under weofod mid þam seaxe, læt licgean oððæt *sunne uppe sie.* âwæsc siððan, dô tô drence and bisceopwyrt and Cristes mæles ragu, âwyl þriwa on meolcum, geot þriwa hâlig wæter on; sing on pater noster and credan etc. and hine eác *ymbwrît mid sweorde* on iiii healfa on cruce, and drince þone drenc, siððan him bið sôna sæl.' Here I think a Latin groundwork, with admixture of christian rites, is self-evident. Thiers in his Traité des superstitions says: 'Quelques uns pour se garantir de maléfices ou de charmes vont cueillir *de* *grand matin, à jeun, sans avoir lavé leurs mains, sans avoir prie Dieu, sans parler à personne* et *sans saluer* personne en leur chemin, une certaine plante, et la mettent ensuite sur la personne maléficiée ou ensorcelée. Ils portent sur eux une racine de *chicorée,* qu'ils ont *touchée à genoux* avec *de l'or* et *de l'argent* le jour de la nativité de saint Jean baptiste, un peu *avant le soleil levé,* et qu'ils ont ensuite arrachée de terre avec un ferrement et beaucoup de cérémonies, après l'avoir exorcizée avec *l'épée* de Judas Machabée.' This again seems to be Celtic, and yet resembles the Roman practices, warlike Judas' patriot sword doing duty for the circle-drawing 'ferrum.' In Superst. I, 581, the lopping is also done *with gold* instead of iron. When Renart finds in the meadow the wished-for plant, and cautiously pulls it up, it is said: 'ne l'a *triblée n'esquachie,* ençois la menja *sanz tribler,* del remanant ala froter trestotes les plaies qu'il ot, et li cuir maintenant reclot et fu gariz et trestoz sains' 25105—11. The herb was neither to be fretted nor squashed; conf. Michel's Trist. 2, 50. In Thurneisser's Erkl. der archidoxen, Berl. 1575, when it says fol. 76: 'Verbeen, agrimenia, modelger Charfreytags graben hilfft dich sehr Das dir die frawen werden holdt, Doch brauch *kein eisen, grab's mit goldt*'; I think it must be drawn from Latin sources. Much more significant is what a song in the Hätzler book says of the 'herb Hope' 137. 294: 'Daz ist gar ein *edel krût,* Grab ez *stille, nicht ze lût, Schützen sind darüber gesetzt,* Begrif man dich, du wurdst geletzt An dîner sælden hôhstem pfant' ('tis a priceless herb, I trow, dig it deftly, soft and slow: o'er it are set guards to watch thee; thou wouldst forfeit, should they catch thee, thy dearest pledge of happiness). These warders and watchers of the herb are on a par with that woodpecker that guards the peony: one would like to know more particulars about them (see Suppl.).

About the *tying-on* (*alligare,* usu. *adalligare*[1]) of herbs when picked or dug up, Pliny imparts the following precepts: 'herba adalligata *laevo brachio,* ita ut *aeger quid sit illud ignoret*' 24, 19 [107]. 'magi heliotropium quartanis *quater,* in tertianis *ter alli-*

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[1] A curious compound = ad-ad-ligare: they must have ceased to feel the origin of the assimilation *ll* before they could add a second ad. It is matched, imperfectly 'tis true, by our past part. geglückt (fr. gegelückt), and perfectly by the O. Fr. concueillir = concolligere, con-con-legere, and the Goth. gagamainjan to profane, gagavairþjan to reconcile.

gari jubent ab ipso aegro, precarique soluturum se nodos liberatum, et ita facere non exempta herba' 22, 21 [29]. 'sunt qui *genicula novem* vel unius vel e duabus tribusve herbis ad hunc articulorum numerum *involvi lana succida nigra* jubeant ad remedia strumae panorumve. *jejunum* debere esse qui colligat, ita ire in domum absentis cui medeatur, supervenientique ter dicere *jejuno jejunum* medicamentum dare, atque ita *adalligare*, triduoque id facere. quod e graminum genere *septem internodia* habet, efficacissime capiti intra dolores adalligatur' 24, 19 [118]. 'alliget ei *septem folia*' 26, 11 [71]. 'verbenaca jumentorum febribus in vino medetur, sed in tertianis *a tertio geniculo* incisa, quartanis a quarto,' ibid.[1] Or, instead of being tied, it was put under the patient's pillow: 'sedum, si *involutum panno nigro ignorantis pulvino* subjiciatur' 26, 10 [69]. 'absinthium somnos allicit olfactum, aut *inscio sub capite* positum' 27, 7 [28]. As a rule, the sufferer was not to know what was tied on or laid under him; knots and joints in the herb bore a reference to the manner of tying and its repetitions. Often it sufficed if the protecting plant were *held in the hand* or *worn in the girdle*: 'virgam pōpuli *in manu tenentibus* intertrigo non metuatur' 24, 8 [32]. 'virgam (viticis) qui *in manu habeant* aut *in cinctu*, negantur intertriginem sentire' 24, 9 [38]. 'intertrigines negat fieri Cato absinthium Ponticum *secum habentibus*' 26, 8 [58]. Yet if you fall, *holding in your hand* the nymphæa, you become epileptic (p. 654).

But in many parts of Germany herbs of power used to be *suspended* up in the loft, on the main rafter, or over door and gate ways, and left there all the year round, till they were replaced by fresh ones.

The Romans had a strange custom of laying a *sieve* in the road, and using the *stalks of grass that grew up through it* for medical purposes: 'cribro in limite adjecto, herbae intus exstantes decerptae adalligataeque gravidis partus accelerant' 24, 19 [109]. The sieve was a sacred utensil (p. 1108-12): exstare is extra stare, prominere. This reminds me of our old Weisthümer, which determine the fineness of a tissue by the stalks piercing through it, 1, 12: 'item, es sprechint ouch die hoflüt, das si hundert und sibentzig eln huobtuochs gebint dem von Hünwil, das selb huobtuoch sölli so swach sin, wenn man das spreit uf ein wasen, das gens gras und bollen durch das tuoch mugint essen.' And 1, 254: 'the said cloth shall be spread over turf and be of such substance that geese can eat grass through it, and not starve.' This has nothing to do with healing, but the mode of thought is similar.

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[1] Wið heáfod-ece (headache): âdelf *wegbrædan* (plantago) bûtan îsene ær sunnan upgange, bind þâ moran (berries, seed) ymb þæt heáfod mid wrætereádê þræde. sona him bið sel.

Having made these general observations, I will now take up one by one the herbs most renowned for healing. Yet some of them seem purposely to have no distinct name given them; among these is the herb that kept birds away from millet and panic: 'pestem a milio atque panico, sturnorum passerumque agmina, scio abigi herba *cujus nomen ignotum est*, in quatuor angulis segetis defossa, mirum dictu, ut omnino nulla avis intret,' Pliny 18, 17 [45]. A poem in Ls. 1, 211—8 tells of a maiden that was picking flowers for a garland, and by chance got hold of a *herb she did not know*: no sooner was it *in her hand* than she saw all her lovers before her, heard their talk, and knew all their thoughts. At length one of her companions knocked the miraculous plant out of her hand, it fell into a brook that ran past, and floated away; and all the prophetic power was gone. Again, the *nameless blue wonderflower* (p. 964), that suddenly opens the shepherd's eyes who has unconsciously stuck it in his hat, and discloses the hitherto concealed entrance to the treasure (p. 971), comes before us the more mysteriously, as it cannot in the least be identified.[1] The name *forget-me-not*, which it may be said to assume to itself, is supposed to express no more than its sentiment, and seems not to have been applied to myosotis till a later time. A herb with an equally imperative name is reported by Pliny 27, 12 [106]: 'circa Ariminum nota est herba quam *resedam* vocant, discutit collectiones inflammationesque omnes. qui curant ea, addunt haec verba: "*Reseda*, morbos *reseda!* scisne, scisne quis hic pullos egerit? radices nec caput nec pedes habeant!" haec ter dicunt, totiesque despuunt.' Collectio is a gathering, and 'pullos agere' must refer to this or the inflammation. What we now call reseda (odorata) is apparently a different herb (see Suppl.).

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[1] In Polish quarries grows a beautiful *blue starflower* with a long stalk (conf. trojziele p. 1216), which the peasantry make war upon, because they think old women and gipsies use it in bewitching the cows, that they may suck up all the milk themselves (Pott's Zigeuner p. viii).

Of roots, the *Alrune* stands first in fame. OHG. glosses already have *alrûna, alrûn* for mandragora (Graff 2, 523. Schm. 3, 97), and I have on fair grounds (p. 404) identified the name of the personified plant with that of wise-women in our remotest antiquity. H. Sachs iv. 3, 34 still pictures the *Alraun* as a goddess who meets you at the crossways.[1] Besides, the root itself has the shape of a man, and the process of pulling it up is described as follows: If a hereditary thief that has preserved his chastity gets hung, and drops water or seed from him, there grows up under the gallows the broad-leaved yellow-flowered mandrake. If dug up, she groans and shrieks so dismally, that the digger would die thereof. He must therefore stop his ears with cotton or wax, and go before sunrise on a Friday, and take with him a black dog that has not a white hair on him; make three crosses over the mandrake, and dig round her till the root holds by thin fibres only; these he must tie with a string to the *dog's tail,* hold up a piece of bread before him, and run away. The dog rushes after the bread, wrenches up the root, and falls dead, pierced by her agonizing wail. The root is now taken up

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[1] This personality of the *Alraun* comes out plainly in a merry tale handed down by a MS. of the 15th cent.: Dicitur de quadam muliere, quae habuit virum nimis durum, quae quandam vetulam in sortilegiis famosam consuluit. vetula vero, experta in talibus valde, dixit 'se optima sibi scire et posse (sub-)venire, si suum vellet consilium imitari.' et dum ipsa promitteret 'se velle imitari,' vetula adjecit: 'habesne in horto tuo canapum spissum et longum?' quae ait 'habeo valde optatum.' cui vetula 'vade' inquit 'tribus noctibus successive in crepusculo serotino ad ipsum hortum tali modo et forma. prima namque nocte accipe unam libram lardi spississimi et optimi quam poteris habere, secunda nocte duas, tertia vero tres, et semper ponas dextrum pedem ad canapum, ac projiciendo lardum usque ad medium canapi, vel citra, haec dices verba: "*Alrawn* du vil güet, Mit trawrigem müet Rüef ich dich an, Dastu meinen leidigen man Bringst darzue, Das er mir kein leid nimmer tue."' Tertia igitur nocte cum mulier haec verba replicaret, vetula abscondita in canapo jacebat. prius autem informaverat praedictam mulierem, quod attentissime auscultaret quae sibi tertia nocte dicta *Alrawn* insinuaret. unde in haec verba *sub voce rauca et valde aliena* abscondita in canapo respondebat: "Fraw, du solt haim gan, Und solt güeten müet han, Und solt leiden, meiden, sweigen (bear and forbear and hold thy peace); Thuest du das von allen deinen sinnen, So machtu wol ein güeten man gewinnen." et sic mulier illius vetulae verba imitabatur, et viri amaritudo in dulcedinem et mansuetudinem vertebatur.—The same story in Paulli's Schimpf u. Ernst 1555 cap. 156; a similar in a MHG. poem (Altd. wäld. 3, 160—3) and a nursery-tale (KM. no. 128), where the man, not the wife, consults the hollow tree or spindletree in the garden (p. 652). The form of address 'Alrûn, dû *vil guote*' reminds me of 'si *vil guote,*' said to *frô Sælde* when she cuts out and clothes, Walther 43, 7.

(Pliny's in sublime tolli), washed with red wine, wrapt in silk red and white, laid in a casket, bathed every Friday, and clothed in a new little white smock every new-moon. When questioned, she reveals future and secret things touching welfare and increase, makes rich, removes all enemies, brings blessings upon wedlock, and every piece of coin put to her overnight is found doubled in the morning, but she must not be overloaded. When her owner dies, she goes to the youngest son, provided he puts a piece of bread and a coin in his father's coffin. If he dies before his father, the mandrake passes to the eldest son, who must in like manner with bread and money bury his brother. All these provisions sound ancient, and may date from a long way back. Our OHG. glosses have 'alrûna' for the *mandragora* occurring several times in the Vulgate,[1] Gen. 30, 14 seq., where the Hebrew text reads *dudaim*; but the poetized version in MHG. translates it *erd-ephil*, Diut. 2, 79. Now the *mandragoras* (masc., Gr. *μανδραγόρας*) is thus described in Pliny 25, 13 [94] : 'mandragoram alii Circaeum vocant; duo ejus genera, candidus qui et mas, niger qui femina existimatur . . . cavent effossuri (album) contrarium ventum, et *tribus circulis* ante *gladio circumscribunt,* postea fodiunt ad occasum spectantes.' I find more to my purpose this time in two lines of Columella 10, 19 :

> quamvis *semi-hominis* vesano gramine foeta
> *mandragorae* pariat flores, moestamque cicutam.

'Semi-human mandrake' goes very well with our legend, and even 'vesanum gramen' may agree with it more closely than appears from the words. Hildegard also in Phys. 2, 102 says: '*mandragora* de terra de qua Adam creatus est dilatata est, et propter *similitudinem hominis* suggestio diaboli huic plus quam aliis herbis insidiatur. et ideo, cum de terra effoditur, mox in salientem fontem per diem et noctem ponatur.' As the French *mandagloire* stands for mandragore, I conjectured (p. 402) that the fée Maglore may have sprung from Mandagloire; if so, it offers an exact analogy to our Alrûna the wise-woman and alrûna the mandrake, and is not to be despised. I close with an AS. description in Thorpe's Anal. p. 94, probably of the 10-11th cent., which confirms the dog's participation in the act of gathering:

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[1] As a fem. pl. mandragorae; the LXX has *μῆλα μανδραγορῶν*, earth-apples.

'þeos wyrt, þe man *mandragoram* nemneð . . . þonne þû tô hire cymst, þonne ongist þû hî bi þâm (wilt know her by this) þe heo on nihte scîneð ealswâ leoht-fæt (as a lamp). þonne þû hire *heáfod* ærest geseo (first see her head), þonne bewrît þû hî wel hraðe mid îserne, þy læs heo þe ætfleo (lest she flee thee). hire mægen (main, might) is swâ micel and swâ mære, þæt heo unclænne man, þonne he tô hire cymeð, wel hraðe forfleon wile. forðy þû hî bewrît, swâ we ær cwædon, mid îserne, and swâ þû scealt onbûtan hî delfan, swâ þû hire mid þâm îserne nâ æt-hrine (touch) : ac þû geornlîce scealt mid ylpenbænenon (ivory) stæfe þâ eorðan delfan, and þonne þû hire *handa* and hire *fêt* geseo, þonne *hundes* gewrîð þû hî (tie her to a dog). nim þonne þone oðerne ende, and gewrîð tô ânes *swiran* (neck), swâ þæt se *hund* hungrig sî, wurp (throw) him siððan mete tô foran, swâ þæt he hine âhræcan (reach) ne mæge, bûton he mid him þâ wyrte upâbrede.' She shines by night like a lamp, has head, hands and feet, must be bewritten with iron lest she escape, is not to be touched with iron, but dug up with an ivory wand : several things betray a Latin origin (bewrîtan circumscribere). It is to be fastened to the dog's neck instead of his tail ; conf. Belg. mus. 5, 114 [Josephus Wars 7, 6, 3 : root Baaras pulled up by dog]. Pliny ascribes a 'vim somnificam' to mandragoras.

Sæm. 194^{a} speaks of a *svefn-þorn* (sleep-thorn) with which Oðinn pricks Brynhild, and she goes to sleep, as Dorn-röschen does in the nursery-tale from the prick of a spindle (p. 419). The *thorn-rose* has a meaning here, for we still call a mosslike excrescence on the wild rosebush or the whitethorn *schlaf-apfel* and *schlaf-kunz* ; so that the very name of our sleeping beauty contains a reference to the myth. We also use the simple *kuenz* (Schm. 2, 314), which can hardly be Kunz the dimin. of Konrad, but is rather conn. with küenzel, küenzen (gathering under the chin). When placed under a sleeper's pillow, he cannot wake till it be removed[1] (see Suppl.).

This 'sleep-apple' is supposed to be produced by a wasp stinging the thorn ; equally rootless, the prophetic *gall-nut* on oaks originates in such a puncture, Sup. I, 968; Ital. *gallozza,* Neap. *gliantra,* Pentam. 2, 1: 'tre gliantre mascole.' Growths that could not be traced to seed and root, as probably that *bird's nest* on p. 973, seemed miraculous and endued with magic power: gall-nuts are hung on the kitchen roofbeam to protect the house.

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[1] *Stinga svefnþorn* occurs in Fornald. sög. 1, 18-9. 3, 303-6. In Tristan sleep is caused by a mere *küsselin* (cushion), Ulr. 1672-93 ; 'der zouberære küsselîn,' Heinr. 4911. In a fairy-tale (Altd. bl. 1, 145) by *writing* and *letters* (i.e. runes), or by *feathers* off the wild shaggy folk (pp. 433. 486), whom fancy must have pictured as having wings or feathers.

The *mistel* (mistletoe) was accounted specially sacred, being supposed to have fallen from heaven on the boughs of magnificent trees like the oak and ash. OHG. *mistil* (not fem. mistila), Graff 2, 890; MHG. *mistel,* 'jâmers mistel,' Martina 161^d. With a shoot of this plant the god Baldr was shot dead: when Frigg was exacting an oath from all other plants, this seemed to her too young: 'vex viðar teinûngr einn fyrir austan Valhöll, sâ er *Mistilteinn* kallaðr, sâ þôtti mer ûngr at krefja eiðsins,' Sn. 64; and the Völuspâ sings of it thus, Sæm. 6^b:

stôð umvaxinn völlom hærri
miór ok miök fagur *Mistilteinn;*

grown high above the field stood the delicate fair mistle-shoot; teinn is a branch shot up, Goth. táins, OHG. zein, and we may safely assume a Goth. mistilatáins, OHG. mistilzein. Now in AS. we find it *mistiltâ,* which may easily be a corruption of *mistiltân,* and the agreement of this with the Eddic mistilteinn would be welcome and weighty; yet 'tâ' may be right after all, and is supported by the Engl. being *mistletoe* [but also misseldine]. In Sweden this evergreen parasite is said to be usually a foot or two feet long, but sometimes to reach the length of three ells (Geijer's Häfd. 1, 330). F. Magn. lex. 512 says, in Vestergötland it is called *vè-spelt,* holy spelt, triticum sacrum. A plant associated with the death of one of their greatest and best-beloved gods must have been supremely sacred to all of Teutonic blood; and yet this opinion of its holiness was shared by Celtic nations. Pliny 16, 44 [95] assures us of the Celtic belief: 'Non est omittenda in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent druidae (ita suos appellant magos) *visco,* et arbore in qua gignatur (si modo sit *robur*), sacratius. Jam per se *roborum* eligunt *lucos,* nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, et inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint druidae videri. Enimvero quidquid *adnascatur illis, e coelo missum* putant, signumque esse electae ab ipso deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magna religione petitur, et ante omnia sexta luna (quae principia mensium annorumque his facit) et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia. *Omnia sanantem* appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis rite sub arbore praeparatis, duos admovent *candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur.*[1] Sacerdos *candida veste* cultus *arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit, candido* id excipitur *sago.* Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Foecunditatem eo poto dari cuicunque animalium sterili arbitrantur, contra venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.' This elegant description is preceded by other statements, of which I will select one here and there: '*Visci* tria genera. Namque in abiete ac larice *stelin* dicit Euboea nasci, *hyphear* Arcadia, *viscum* autem in quercu, robore, pruno silvestri, terebintho, nec aliis arboribus adnasci, plerique. Copiosissimum in quercu, quod *dryos hyphear* . . . Adjiciunt discrimen, *visco* in his quae folia amittant et *ipsi* decidere, contra inhaerere nato in *aeterna fronde.*[2] Omnino autem satum nullo modo nascitur, nec nisi *per alvum avium redditum,* maxime *palumbis* ac *turdis:* haec est natura, ut nisi maturatum in ventre avium non proveniat. Altitudo ejus non excedit cubitalem, semper frutectosi ac viridis. Mas fertilis, femina sterilis; aliquando non fert.'—With us too a thrush is called *mistler,* Schm. 2, 645 (MHG. mistelære?), Engl. *mistlebird;* and in some other of our myths the *conveyance of the seed by birds* enhances the holiness of the virgin plant (p. 969): there is no human hand at work, and the finger of God is manifest. *Viscum* is the Fr. *gui,* and to this day the veneration for the plant is preserved in the New-year's gratulation *aguilanneuf* (p. 755). In Wales they hang mistletoe *over the doors* at Christmas, and call it (says Davies) *pren awyr,* merry tree, *pren uchelvar,* tree of the high summit, *pren puraur,* tree of pure gold; the second name recalls the 'völlum hærri' of the Edda. But the usual names given for mistletoe are Wel. *olhiach,* Bret. *ollyiach,* Ir. *uileiceach,* Gael. *uileice,* i.e. all-healing

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[1] Steers never yoked as yet, steeds never harnessed, RA. 547: a sacred use demands that everything be new.

[2] Virg. Aen. 6, 205: Quale solet silvis brumali frigore *viscum*
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretes circumdare truncos;
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.

[Pliny's omnia sanans], from 'ol, uile,' universal (p. 1213). A Breton lay (Barzas breiz 1, 58. 100) makes Merlin at early morn go fetch the *high branch on the oak* (warhuel, huelvar ann derwen). Our old herbals divide mistletoes into those of the *oak, hazel* and *peartree* (eichen-mistel, heselin-m., birnbäumin-m.), and none of them must be let touch the ground; some, set in silver, they hang round children's necks. In Prussian Samland it is called *wispe* (which looks like viscum, gui, but mistel itself is often confounded with mispel = medlar); it is common on birch, cherry and lime trees, on the hazel it is rare and wonderful. It grows in a straight line out of the trunk, and between its smooth evergreen willow-like leaves it bears berries silvery-white, like peas or small nuts. Where the hazel has a wispe, there is sure to be a treasure hidden (Reusch no. 10). Among Slavs I find the names Boh. melj, gmelj, oméli, Russ. oméla, Pol. iemiel; Lith. amalai, Lett. ahmals; but no legends (see Suppl.).

To viscum may be added two other druidical herbs. Pliny 24, 11 [62-3]: '*Selago* legitur *sine ferro, dextra manu* per tunicam, qua *sinistra* exuitur *velut a furante, candida veste* vestito pureque lotis *nudis pedibus,* sacro facto priusquam legatur pane vinoque; fertur in mappa nova: hanc contra omnem perniciem habendam prodidere druidae Gallorum.—Iidem *Samolum* herbam nominavere nascentem in humidis, et hanc *sinistra* manu legi a jejunis contra morbos suum boumque, *nec respicere* legentem, nec alibi quam in canali deponere, ibique conterere poturis.' The mode of gathering selago is peculiar: it is to be picked with the right hand, not bare, but covered with the tunic (conf. p. 971), then to be drawn out stealthily with the left. In Davies's Br. myth. 280 it is said to be the herb the Welsh call grâs Duw (gratia Dei). Villemarqué thinks it is the *aour géoten* (aurea herba) of Breton songs 1, 58. 96, which you must pull up in the meadows before sunrise, barefoot and bareheaded; it shines far off like gold. It is rarely to be found, and only by holy persons. Some take it for our bärlapp (lycopodium). Samolus is said to be anemone pulsatilla; Davies p. 274 gives its Welsh name as *gwlydd.*

Our *baldrian* is a corruption of *valeriana,* and has nothing to do with Baldr, after whom a very different herb, the anthemis cotula, was named Baldrs brâ (brow), Sw. Baldersbrâ, abbrev.

Barbro. But the valerian has a mythical name too, *Velands-urt,* Wayland's wort (p. 377), and its healing virtues are in high repute. The Servians call it *odolián* (from odoliéti to overpower), Boh. *odolèn*; and among the Servian 'Vilinen piѐsme' (songs taught by the vila herself) is a saw (Vuk, new ed. 1, 149): 'Da zna zhenska glava, Shto zh' odolián trava, Svagda bi ga brala, U pas ushivala, I za se nosila'; if woman but knew what is herb odolián, she would always get it, in her girdle sew it, and about her wear it. The vila warns us not to neglect this precious herb (see Suppl.).

Henbane (*bilsen-kraut*), OHG. *pilisa, belisa* (hyos-cyamos), see pp. 593. 1198, and Suppl.

Sowthistle (eberwurz, boarwort), OHG. epurwurz, the carlina acaulis, Carls-distel; growing on hills, close to the ground without a stalk, with silver-white unfading leaves. During a pestilence, Charles the Great had gone to sleep laden with care, when an angel appeared to him in a dream, and bade him shoot an arrow in the air: whatever herb it lighted upon was sovereign against the plague. Charles in the morning shot the arrow, and its point stuck in a sowthistle: they used it for medicine, and the plague disappeared. He that carries this plant about him, let him run ever so long, will never tire; and he can take all the strength out of a companion that walks with him, hence they used to tie some to their horses in a race; when the same was done unperceived to one of a married couple, the other was sure to waste away and die. Sowthistle was also nailed inside the swine-trough, that the pigs might eat over it, whence its name is supposed to have come (W. Menzel's Literaturbl. 1844. pp. 9. 10). The name 'eberwurz' probably rests on other grounds, but 'carlina' seems to be formed on the legend. King Charles often had things told him by angels in dreams, and bad dreams come of fighting with boars; the herb may have healed the gash inflicted by the tusk of a boar (see Suppl.).

Betonica. Pliny 25, 46: 'Vettones in Hispania eam quae *Vettonica* dicitur in Gallia, in Italia autem *serratula,* a Graecis cestros aut psycho-morphon [-trophon?], ante cunctas laudatissima. Exit anguloso caule, cubitorum duûm, a radice spargens folia fere lapathi, serrata, semine purpureo . . . tantum gloriae habet, ut *domus* in qua sata sit *tuta existimetur a piaculis omnibus*

. . . Morsibus imponitur *vettonica,* cui vis tanta perhibetur, ut *inclusae circulo ejus serpentes* ipsae sese interimant flagellando.' Fr. *bétoine,* MHG. *batônie*: 'altiu wîp grabent *patôni,*' MsH. 3, 193^b. 'sô gênt etelîche mit bœsen batânien umb,' Berth. 58. 'ettlich kundent *patoniken* graben,' Superst. G, l. 41. 'die lêr ich *batônien* graben,' Aw. 2, 56. An Italian proverb recommends the purchase of betony at any price: 'venda la tonica, e compra la *bettonica.*' A description in Martina 27^a (Diut. 2, 129), 'diu *gelwe* batênie hol,' seems to contradict the aforesaid purple (of the seed only ?). In Switzerland *badönikli* is our fluhblume, cowslip, and herdsmen bring it home for their sweethearts off the Alp, Stald. 1, 124. 386. Apparently several kinds are to be distinguished: Pol. bukwica, Boh. brkwice, is by turns betonica, plantago and primula. The Anglo-Saxons called betonica *biscopwyrt,* from which its sacredness may be inferred (see Suppl.).

Madalgêr stands in OHG. glosses for basilicum, in herbals for senecio as well. The proverb ran, '*Modelgeer* ist aller wurzel ein eer.' In the Westerrich, when a disease breaks out among swine, they chop some of this root in with the pigs' wash, muttering a short prayer: it keeps the schelm from attacking them. As Heime's father in our heroic legend is called *Madelgêr* (p. 387), likewise a mermaid's son who puts on a cloak of darkness (Morolt 40-1); a mythic significance in the plant's name becomes credible (see Suppl.).

In the same way I connect *Mangold,* lapathum, beet, with that ancient name of the giant-maiden who could grind gold (p. 531).

OHG. *faram* filix, MHG. *varm, varn,* AS. *fearn,* Engl. *fern.* Pliny 27, 9 [55] tells nothing mythical of the filix. Hildegard's Phys. 2, 91: 'in loco illo ubi crescit, diabolus illusiones suas raro exercet; et domum et locum in quo est, diabolus evitat et abhorret, et fulgura et tonitrua et grando ibi raro cadunt.' A Herbal says: '*farnkraut* is hard to destroy, without ye stub it up on the day of John's beheading, then doth *farn* perish. It seems to bear neither flower nor seed; he that will gather fernseed must be bold and able to daunt the devil. He shall go after it on St John's night before daybreak, light a fire, and spread cloths or broad leaves under the same, so may he take and keep of the seed.' Many fasten fresh fern *over the house-door,* then all goes well as far as the whip on the waggon reaches (about five paces), Sup. I, 988. In Redeker's Westf. sagen no. 46 we find some details: Fernseed *makes one invisible,* but is difficult to get at: it ripens only between 12 and 1 on Midsummer night, and then falls off directly, and is gone. A man, who on that night happened to be looking for a lost foal, passed through a field where fernseed was ripening, and some fell in his shoes (like the flax-pods, p. 962). Coming home in the morning, he walked into the house, and sat down: he thought it strange that his wife and family took no notice of him. 'Well,' says he, 'I have not found the foal.' All those in the room looked startled: they heard the man's voice, but nothing of him could they see. The wife began calling him by name, so he came and stood in the middle of the room, and said, 'What are you shouting for, when here I stand before you?' The terror was now greater than before; till the man, feeling something hurt his feet, as if shingle had got in his shoes, pulled them off and shook them out; and there he stood visible to every eye. This is the *wünschel-sâmen des varmen* (p. 974). Conrad of Würzburg in a song, MsH. 3, 453ª:

> Het ich *sâmen von dem varn,*
> den würfe ich dar den scheiden,
> daz si 'n verslünden, ê mîn dienest von ir solde scheiden.

'scheiden' are large fish, shad, siluri, and often used punningly (Schm. 3, 324. Höfer 3, 65). Had I seed of the fern, says the lover, I would fling it to yon shadfish to devour, ere my service should fall away from her; apparently the seed might have made his fortune elsewhere, but he gives it up to keep faith with her: there is no reference to invisibility. In Thiers the *fougère* (filix) 'cueillie la veille de la St Jean justement à midi' is said to bring luck in play to him that wears it.

In the Thüringer-wald fern is called *irr-kraut* (stray herb), and by some *atter-kreutich* (adder-herb): if you step over it without seeing it, it so bothers and bewilders you, that you no longer know your whereabouts even in the most familiar parts of the forest. To prevent or correct your straying, you must sit down and put your shoes on the wrong feet, or if a woman, untie your apron and turn it wrong-side out; immediately you know your way again (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 364. Bechstein's Franken pp. 269. 286.) No doubt the *puzzle-seed* had got into the shoe or cincture, and fell out when these were taken off. It is said also, if you have *adder-herb* about you, you will be pursued by adders till you have thrown it away. In some parts they call it *Walburgis-kraut.* Its Slavic name is Russ. *páporot,* Pol. *paproć,* O. Boh. *paprut,* now *papradj, kapradj,* Slovèn. *praprat, praprot*; Lith. *papartis,* Lett. *papardi.* Woycicki 1, 94 also says it blossoms exactly at midnight of St John's eve, and it is a hard matter to get hold of the flower (kwiat paproci), for the picking is attended by storm and thunder; but whoever gets possession of it becomes rich, and can prophesy (see Suppl.).

OHG. *pîpôz,* artemisia (Graff 3, 22, but misplaced and misspelt), MHG. *bîbôz* (rhy. grôz), Ls. 2, 526; its corruption into our meaningless *beifuss,* Nethl. *bivoet,* is as early as Gl. Jun. 406 *bifuz.* The word seems pure German, formed from pôzan cudere, like anapôz incus, anvil, MHG. anebôz, our amboss; and we ought to pronounce and spell it beiboss. The meaning must be something like that of beischlag (by-blow), which in the Logau district means a bastard. In OS. it would be bîbôt, which resembles its Lett. name *bihbotes.* Our LG. *buk, bucke* seems an abbrev. dimin. of endearment (but-ke);[1] Dan. *bynke,* but Sw. *gråbo,* gray nest. Whoso hath beifuss in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root *over the door,* the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny. On St John's day they gird themselves with beifuss, then throw it in the fire, while spells and rhymes are said (p. 618); hence the names *Johannis-gürtel, sonnenwend-gürtel, gürtel-kraut,* Fr. herbe de S. Jean. They dig the root up solemnly, twine it into wreaths, hang it about them, and each flings it into the flame along with any griefs he may chance to have about him. He that has beifuss on him *wearies not on his way* (Megenberg 385, 16): this is imitated from Pliny 26, 89: '*artemisiam* alligatam qui habet viator negatur lassitudinem sentire;' also the *ʽΕρμηνείαι παλαιαί* (ed. Sillig p. 212): *ἀρτεμισίαν τὴν βοτάνην εἴ τις ἔχει ἐν ὁδῷ, λύει τὸν κάματον.* The AS. name is *mucgwyrt,* Engl. *mugwort, muggon*: 'wið miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs he teorige, *mucgwyrt nime him on hand,* oððe *dô on his scô* þylæs he mêdige; and þonne he niman wille ær sunnan upgange, cweðe þâs word ærest: tollam te, artemisia, ne lassus sim in via. gesegna hie, þonne þû upteo.' R. Chambers p. 34 gives some Scotch stories of its healing power. A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave the people good counsel, sang:

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[1] Or is it related to Finn. *puyo,* Esth. *poio, puiyo?*

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the *mugwort* flowering in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maiden had died of the same disease, and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her head above the water, and in slow accents cried:

If they wad drink *nettles* in March,
  And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
  Wad na gang to the clay.

Why should not the Goths already have possessed a bibáuts too? That they had significant names of their own for herbs and shrubs, is plain from Ulphilas's translations of the Greek term by a native one: *βάτος*, rubus, becomes *aíhvatundi,* Mk 12, 26. Luke 6, 44. 20, 37, which apparently contains aíhvus equus, tundi fomes (tinder, OHG. zuntara); *συκάμινος báinabagms,* Luke 17, 6, i.e. bone-tree, and to this day we call privet (hartriegel, OHG. hartrugil, harttrugil? Graff 5, 501) bonewood. The reasons of the names are lost to us now (see Suppl.).

Hederich is not an old German word, being formed from the Latin hedera, only instead of ivy it means ground-ivy, Linné's glechoma hederacea, a weed with small blue flowers. Its native name is *gunde-rebe, gundel-rebe, donner-rebe, gunder-mann,* OHG. *gunder-reba,* 'acer' (Graff 2, 354), which cannot mean maple, for it is always classed among herbs. It was reckoned sanative, and a safeguard against sorcery; when cows are first driven out to pasture, they are milked through a *wreath of gundermann,* and whoever wears this on his head can tell who are witches, Sup. I, 462-3. *Gund* points to the ancient valkyr (p. 422); *donner* to the flower's blue colour, and to the Thunder-god. The Lettons too have named it *pehrkones* from the god Pehrkon.

The Boh. ohnica (from ohen, fire) stands for the yellow hederich (hedge-mustard ?) that overspreads whole fields : if you call out 'hederich' to peasant women weeding it, they scold you (see Suppl.).

One kind of *scabiosa* is named *succisa,* or *morsus diaboli, Teufels-biss* or *-abbiss,* Engl. *devil's bit,* Dan. *diävels bid,* Boh. čertkus, čertůw kus, Russ. diávolskoye ukushénie [and cherto-grýz, chértov ogrýzok] ; but also Russ. chértov pálets, devil's thumb, Pol. czartowe żebro, devil's rib. The root is stumpy at the end, as if bitten off. Oribasius says, the devil was doing such mischief with this herb, that the Mother of God took pity, and deprived him of the power; he out of spite *bit the end of the root off,* and it grows so to this day. The man that has it about him, neither devil nor hag has power to hurt. Some say the devil bit it off because he grudged men the use of its healing power. If dug up at midnight of St John's eve, the roots are yet *unbitten,* and chase the devil away. Thrown under the table, it makes the guests fall out and fight (see Suppl.).

Some herbs are called by men's names. *Bertram,* though found even in OHG. as *Perhtram* (Graff 3, 349), MHG. *Berchtram,* Ls. 2, 526, is merely pyrethrum altered to give it a German sound. What seems more remarkable is 'herba *boni Henrici'* (chenopodium), or simply *bonus Henricus, gut Heinrich; stolz Heinrich,* proud H. (atriplex) ; *roth Heinrich,* red H., Superst. I, 1002. I account for it by the old beliefs in elves and kobolds, for whom Heinz or Heinrich was a favourite name (pp. 503-4), which was afterwards transferred to devils and witches, and to such demonic beings was ascribed the healing virtue of the herb. Even the legend of Poor Henry, whose origin has never been explored, may have to do with a herb that cured leprosy; and the 'herba boni Henrici' is said to have been used as a remedy for that very disease.

When a universal power to heal all sicknesses was attributed to a herb, the Greeks called it *τὸ πάνακες, ἡ πανάκεια* (as the Celts named the mistletoe *olhiach, uileiceach*), which got personified itself into a daughter of Asklepios, *Πανάκεια.* In our language we find no plant named all-heil, all-heila, but there is a *selp-heila* (euphrasia), Graff 4, 864, and the herbs *heil-aller-welt* (Achillea, millefolium), *heil-aller-schaden* (supercilium Veneris), as well as *aller-mann-harnisch* and *neun-manns-kraft*, 9 man power. The significance of the number nine shews itself no less in garlands being made of nine sorts of flowers. *Heil-houbito,* healhead, Graff 4, 759, is hermodactylus, whatever that may be, and another name for it is *hunt-louch,* dog-leek 2, 143 (see Suppl.).

Two herbs commonly coupled together by alliteration are *doste* and *doránt* (origanum, antirrhinum). OHG. *dosto* (Graff 5, 232) is our real native word for what we now call wilde majoran, thymian (marjoram, thyme), or *wolgemut* (well of mood), Boh. *dobrá-mysl.* For doránt we have sometimes *oránt*; some think it is not antirrhinum, but marrubium, OHG. *Got-fargezzan.* Both herbs are shunned by the little-wights and nixes; hence the speeches put in their mouths: 'If ye hadn't *dorânt* and *dosten* here, I'd help ye the sooner to sip that beer!' 'Up with your skirts, ye merrimen all, Lest into *dost* and *dorând* ye fall!' 'See that ye bump not against *duránt,* Or we sha'n't get back to our fatherland.' DS. no. 65. Jul. Schmidt p. 132. Redeker no. 45 (see Suppl.).

Along with doste, *hart-heu* (hypericum, St John's wort), otherwise called *hart-hun* (p. 1029n.), will often scare spirits away: 'Marjoram, John's wort, heather white, Put the fiend in a proper fright.' Hypericum perforatum, *fuga daemonum,* devil's flight (see Suppl.).

Widertân (adiantum), formed with the past part. of tuon, to do, afterwards corrupted into *widerthon, widertod*: the genuine form is retained by G. Frank (Schm. 4, 34). The Herbal says: Therewith be many pranks played, this we let be as foolery and devilry. 'Tis called *maidenhair* also, and is of fair golden hue. The old wives have many a fancy touching herbs, and say the red steinbrechlin (saxifraga) with small lentil leaves is indeed *abthon,* but the naked maidenhair is *widerthon,* and with these two they can both 'abthon' and 'widerthon' as it please them. Does this mean, remove and restore virility? in that case *abetân* and *widertân* would be opposites, like 'set on' and 'take off' on p. 1074. Frisch 1, 5^b has *abthon* trichomanes, polytrichon, and 2, 446^b *widerthon* lunaria, thora salutifera (see Suppl.).

Some herbs, plantago and proserpinaca, take their names from growing on the wayside (proserpere) and being exposed to the tread (plantae) of passengers: OHG. *wegarih* (Graff 1, 670), our wegerich; OHG. *wegapreita,* our wegebreit, AS. *wegbræde,* Engl. *waybrede* [broad, not 'bread'], Dan. *veibred*; OHG. *wegaspreiti,* -spreading (Graff 6, 395). Again, OHG. *wegatreta, umbitreta* (Graff 5, 552), our wegetritt; OHG. *wegawarta,* our wegewarte (ward, watch, wait), a name also given to cichorium, succory. There are some myths about it: the herb was once a *maiden* that on the wayside awaited her lover (p. 828), like Sigûne in Tit. 117-8. Paracelsus observes (Opp. 1616. 2, 304), that the flowers of the wegwarte turn to the sun, and their strength is greatest in sunshine, but after seven years the root changes into the *form of a bird* (see Suppl.).

Lauch, OHG. louh, AS. leác (leek), ON. laukr, is a general designation of juicy herbs; some species appear to have been sacred: '*allium* (gar-leek) caepasque *inter deos in jurejurando* habet Aegyptus,' Pliny 19, 6 [32]. When Helgi was born, and his father Sigmundr returned from the battle, it is said in Sæm. 150ᵃ:

> sialfr gêck vîsi or vîgrymo
> ûngom fœra *îtrlauk* grami.

In Völs. saga cap. 8: 'Sigmundr var þâ kominn frâ orrostu, ok gekk *með einum lauk* îmôt syni sînum, ok hermeð gefr hann honum Helga nafn.' The *îtr-laukr* is allium praestans, allium victoriale: it is not clear whether the king bore it as home-returning victor, or whether it was usual to wear it in giving names. Antiquity sheds no light on either custom.[1] When the drinking-cup was blessed, a *leek* was thrown into it, Sæm. 195ᵇ (see Suppl.).

The sorbus or service-tree is in ON. *reynir,* Sw. *rönn,* Dan. *rönne* (rowan?): it is a holy shrub, for Thôrr in the river clutched it to save himself, hence it is said: 'reynir er *biörg Thôrs,*' sorbus auxilium Thori est, Sn. 114. In Sweden they still believe that a staff of this rönn defends you from sorcery, and on board ship the common man likes to have something made of rönn-wood, as a protection against storms and watersprites; *flögrönn* is of use in occult science, Afzel. 1, 19 (see Suppl.).

In Servian, *samdokaz* and *okolochep* are herbs which, put in a love-potion, compel the lover to come to his mistress. *Ustuk* is both a herb and the charm repeated by a sorceress to make a disease depart (ustuknuti), Vuk sub vv.

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[1] The Welsh associate their national leek with victory.—TRANS.

The Pol. *trojziele* (three-herb) is a marvellous plant with blue leaves and red flowers: it inspires love, makes you forget, and transports you whither you please[1] (see Suppl.).

In the poem of Elegast 763 seq. there occurs a nameless herb, which one need only put in the mouth to understand what the *cocks crow* and the *dogs bark*. Villemarqué says, whoever accidentally steps on the golden herb (p. 1207), falls asleep directly, and understands the speech of *dogs, wolves* and *birds*. In another case the knowledge of *birds' language* comes of eating a white snake (p. 982), in the Edda by eating of the dragon's heart. A fairytale makes some one be three years learning what it is that the dogs bark, the birds sing, and the frogs croak[2] (see Suppl.).

2. Stones.

Stones are far less mythical than herbs, though among them also the noble are distinguished from the base. Stones neither grow so livingly, nor are they so accessible, as plants: whilst any shepherd or traveller can approach the flower in field or wood, precious stones are not produced on the surface of our soil, they are wrung from the bowels of the earth, and imported from distant lands. There was a meaning therefore in calling herb-lore heathen, and stone-lore Jewish (p. 1190): Jewish and Moorish merchants fetched the gem from the far East. The miraculous and medicinal power of precious stones was known early in the Mid. Ages, but never was naturalized amongst us, hence also the very few Teutonic names for them, or legends about them: a fact which goes to confirm the home character of our plant-myths. The widely circulated works of Marbod, Evax, Albertus Magnus and others on precious stones have left as little of lasting legend among the people as Walahfried or Macer Floridus, who in the dry learned fashion of physicians treat of herbs. Even Pliny's account in his 36th book seems to have had no effect at all on our superstitions.[1]

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[1] Volkslieder der Polen, coll. by W. P., Leipzig 1833, p. 90.

[2] AS. herb-names, when once critically edited from the MSS., promise rich gleanings for mythology, of which I have given several specimens. I will here add a few obscure names: *dweorges dwostle*, dwosle, dwysle (pulegium, pennyroyal), was quoted p. 448, and if conn. with ON. 'dustl,' levis opera, perh. quisquiliæ, and 'dustla,' everrere, it is dwarf's sweepings; *collan-crôg* is achillea or nymphaea, and as 'collen-ferhð' in the poems is proud-hearted, so proud crocus (OHG. kruogo) or crock, pitcher, whichever we take crôg to mean; *ælf-þone*, OHG. alb-dono, our alpranke (bittersweet?); *wulfes comb*, chamaelea; *foxes glôfa*, buglossa, OHG. hrindeszunga, ox-tongue [or, digitalis?]; *hind-heleðe*, paeonia, Engl. hind-hele, appar. 'cervam celans, defendens,' conf. 'heleðe, heolað' (it is spelt both ways) with heoloð-helm p. 463, and beáh-heoloðe quoted by Lye; *cneow-holen*, now ruscus, now victoriale, i.e. herba victorialis, idaea daphne, Engl. kneeholly, kneeholm; *hwâtend*, iris illyrica, suggestive of 'hwâtunga,' omina, auguria; *geormen-leáf*, *eormen-leáf*, *georman-leafa*, *hoc-leafa* (Haupt's Zeitschr. 9, 408), malva, would in OHG. be irman-loup (p. 351-2). The OHG. names in Graff 1, 1050-1. 3, 863—72 are less interesting, and less perfectly preserved (see Suppl.).

Yet a few time-honoured myths there are. The Edda names a holy *iarkna-steinn*, Sæm. 137^{b}. 139^{a}. 213$_{a}$. 238^{d}, which in the Cauldron-raid was thrown into the hot water, and which the cunning smith Völundr could manufacture out of children's eyes. The AS. *eorcan-stân* glosses both 'margarita' and 'topazion'; in Cod. Exon. 73, 27. 238, 12. 478, 7 it has the general sense of precious-stone (eorcnan-stân is appar. a corruption). A corresponding Goth. *aírkna-stáins*, OHG. *erchan-stein* may safely be assumed, as 'aírknis' actually means genuine, holy, and 'erchan' survives in similar compounds (Graff 1, 468). But it seems to be the oval milk-white opal, otherwise called *orphanus, pupillus*, MHG. *weise* (orphan), and so precious that it graced the crown royal of Germany. Albertus M. says: '*Orphanus* est lapis qui in corona Romani imperatoris est, neque unquam alibi visus est, propter quod etiam orphanus vocatur. Est autem colore vinosus, subtilem habens vinositatem, et hoc est sicut si candidum nivis candens seu micans penetraverit in rubeum clarum vinosum, et sit superatum ab ipso. Est autem lapis perlucidus, et traditur quod aliquando fulsit in nocte, sed nunc tempore nostro non micat in tenebris. Fertur autem quod honorem servat regalem.' If the OHG. *weiso* had already had the sense of the stone, it would hardly fail to appear in the glosses. We find it in full play in the MHG. poets, ever since the tale was told of how in distant land Duke Ernst with his sword cut it out of the living rock, and presented it as a gift to the king (ll. 3604—23 and 5543 of the Lay, and in Odo's Latin poem 6, 357). 'Philippe setzen *weisen* ûf!' Walth. 9, 15. 'schouwe wem der *weise* ob sîme nacke stê, der stein ist aller fürsten leitesterne,' Walth. 19, 3; conf.

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[1] Look at the lifeless inventories in Parz. 791 and Fragm. 45^{c}. More interesting is a poem by Stricker (in Hahn 44—52); and *Eraclius* was deep in stone-lore, Massm. pp. 468—73.

Helbl. 2, 881. 'der künec alsô den *weisen* hât,' Ms. 1, 15ª. 'wie si durch den berc har wieder kâmen, dâ sie der krône *weisen* inne nâmen,' Ms. 2, 138ª. 'den *weisen* ie vil hôhe wac (prized) der keiser und daz rîche, dur daz (because) nie sîn gelîche wart unter manigem steine,' Troj. 20. 'ich stich im abe den *weisen*,' Otto bart. 314; see also passages in Heinr. von Krolewiz V. U., coll. in Lisch p. 208. Albert and Conrad account for the name, by the stone having no equal, and standing like an orphan cut off from kin; so the gloss on Sspgl 3, 60. The Spanish crown once had a magnificent pearl, which was likewise named *huerfana* or *sola*, and perished at the burning of the palace in 1734. A diamond mounted by itself is in French *solitaire*. But a deeper, a mythical meaning becomes apparent, which Haupt in his Zeitschr. 7, 278 disputes. Pupillus means first a little one, a boy under age, a ward, and then acquires the sense of orphan. Pupilla and *κόρη* signify a girl and the pupil of the eye, in which a child's image is supposed to be seen (p. 1080). Now as Völundr fashions the iarknasteinn of the eyes of slain children, the stone might be called either pupilla or pupillus, and so agree with our 'orphanus,' thus erchanstein comes to be 'weise.' Of Thiassi's eyes were made shining stars, all stars are gems of the sky; from this the transition to the sparkling stone was easy enough. Heinr. von Krolewiz, describing the sky as a house, again brings the eyes into connexion with the orphan, ll. 1194. 1203-16 (see Suppl.).

The *pearl*, already in dreams a prognostic of the tear, is made in the myth to spring out of Venus's tear, as Freyja's tears turned into *drops of gold* (p. 1194)[1]; and Wäinämöinen's tears fall into the sea as *pearls*, Kalew. rune 22. The pearl then is either metal or stone. Our ancestors regarded it as a stone found in the sea, hence eorcanstân too may have meant pearl, and even the Latin name *unio* approaches that notion of the incomparable orphan: 'in tantum ut *nulli duo* reperiantur *indiscreti*, unde nomen *unionum* Romanae imposuere deliciae,' Pliny 9, 35 [56]. 'ideo

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[1] Not only does Freyja's tear turn into gold, but a Greek myth makes ἤλεκτρον arise from the tears of Phaëthon's sisters, daughters of the Sun, be that substance *gold* or *amber*, succinum. For amber, Tacitus and Pliny already know a German word *glesum*, Gramm. 1, 58; an ON. name is *rafr*, Sn. 156, Sw. *raf*, Dan. *rav*; AS. glosses have *eolhsand* (in Mone 1106 eolcfang); conf. Werlauff's learned treatise on amber (bernstein), Schlesw. 1840 (see Suppl.).

uniones dictos quia *nunquam duo simul* reperiantur,' Isid. or. 16, 10. Pliny goes on: 'nam id (nomem unionum) apud Graecos non est, ne apud barbaros quidem inventores ejus aliud quam *margaritae*.' If *margarita, μαργαρίτης* was the word commonly used by barbarian pearl-fishers, the Greeks and Romans may have this time borrowed a word from Teutonic races, in whose language the OHG. *marigreoz*, MHG. *mergriez*, OS. *merigriota*, AS. *meregreot, meregrot* is perfectly intelligible, meaning grit or pebble of the sea. It is true we now find the Goth. *markreitus*, 1 Tim. 2, 9, imitated from *μαργαρίτης*, and that with consonant-change; and to correspond to this the OHG. should have been *marchrîz*. Either OHG., OS. and AS. all strove to accommodate the foreign word to our idiom (which usually happens in one dialect, not in three at once), or the Goth had no 'marigriuts' in his own language, or did not choose to write it, and so imitated the outlandish term, which is now stowed away in our female name Gret-chen. The OHG. *perala, berala*, AS. *pearl*, is appar. from beryllus, and again transfers the notion of gemmula to the growth in the shellfish. We might also put by the side of margarita the Skr. marakata, though that signifies, and is directly allied to, *σμάραγδος, μάραγδος* (emerald).

As erchanstein sprang out of the human eye, and the pearl out of the oyster, the medieval fancy seems to have been excited by some other precious stones which grew in or out of animals. What Marbod cap. 24 tells of the *lyncurius* may be read at greater length in Rudlieb 3, 101—127: these brilliant lynx-stones likewise befit the finger-ring of the queen, the crown of the king. Some legends speak of stones of power engendered in the head of the *cock*, the *adder*, the *toad*. Inside the body of a castrated *cock* of three years grows the *alectorius*, Marbod cap. 3: 'Invictum reddit lapis hic quemcunque gerentem, Extinguitque sitim patientis in ore receptus.' The MHG. poem fixes the capon's age at seven, Albertus at nine years. But a poem in the Vienna Cod. 428 no. 136 (Hahn's Stricker p. 48) names the *snake-stone* as the right one to bestow *victory*:

> ich hœre von den steinen sagen,
> die *natern* und *kroten* tragen (adders and toads bear),
> daz grôze tugend dar an lige (great virtue therein lies),
> swer si habe, der gesige (who has them, conquers);

mohten daz *sigesteine* wesen (if these be victory-stones),
sô solt ein wurm vil wol genesen,
der's in sînem lîbe trüege,
daz in nieman erslüege

(the reptile itself ought to live long, and never get killed); and the *cock-stone* as that which allays thirst:

man sagt von *hanensteinen,*
swer ir in munt nem' einen,
daz er guot vür den durst im sî.

The sacred *snake,* the *adder,* who wears crowns of gold (p. 686) and jewels (Gesta Rom. ed. Keller pp. 68. 152), seems to have a better right to the stone of victory than the cock. Albertus mentions a stone *borax,* which the toad wears on its head, but he says nothing about its procuring victory: '*borax* lapis est, qui ita dicitur a *bufone,* quod in capite ipsum portat,' Otnit, Mone 557-8. In Ettm. p. 91 the toad is characterized as *Hebrew*:

ez ist ûz dem garten ein Abrahemsche krot (conf. p. 1241),
swenne diu gewehset, sie bringet einen stein
daz diu sunne ûf erden niht bezzers überschein.

The Dresden poem says more explicitly, that the stone grows on him, and is of all stones the highest. The Pentameron 4, 1 says, the *preta de lo gallo* grows in the cock's head, and is a *wishing-stone,* by which you can obtain anything. The Oriental fable of the three lessons taught by the captive bird (Reinh. cclxxxi. Ls. 2, 655) alludes to such a stone growing in the heart or crop of a lark or nightingale. The daughter of Sigurðr grikr steals the *stone of victory* out of his pocket while he sleeps, and gives it to Dietleib (Vilk. s. cap. 96-7); such a one had king Nidung too (cap. 25), but neither passage specifies the kind of stone. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 89) does not describe his *sigelstein,* but we find elsewhere that it could artificially, and in secret, be blown like glass, cast like metal; Seifr. Helbl. 4, 124 says of conspirators: 'ze samen si dô sâzen, sam (as if) sie einen *sigstein bliesen*'; and Mich. Behaim 22, 11: 'gar taugenlichen vor dem rat zusamen giengen fru und spat, pis sy *gussen ain sigelstain.*' Acc. to Hagen's Cölner chron. 1003 the stone wherewith to conquer means the *diamond.* When the poets tell of fingerrings that lend victory, that make invisible (e.g. Troj. 9198), their power always comes of the *stone* set in them. Marbod cap. 27 on *gagathromeus*: 'Quem qui gestarit dux pugnaturus in hostem, Hostem depulsum terraque marique fugabit' (see Suppl.).

The *ceraunius* (*κεραυνίας*) that falls from heaven is mentioned by Marbod cap. 28: 'Qui caste gerit hunc, a fulmine non ferietur, Nec domus aut villae quibus affuerit lapis ille.' What he adds: 'Crystallo similem *Germania* mittere fertur, Coeruleo tamen infectum rutiloque colore' is derived from Pliny 37, 9, 51: 'est inter candidas et quae *ceraunia* vocatur, fulgorem siderum rapiens, ipsa crystallina, splendoris coerulei, in *Germania* nascens,' though the received text has Carmania. There can be no question about the *thunderstone* being German (p. 179); and *Miölnir,* like the *hein* (p. 903 n.) that Oðinn hurled, or that which lodged in Thôr's head (p. 375), is sure to have been hallowed above all stones. Miölnir sounds remarkably like the Slavic names for lightning, *molniya, munya*; this last the Servian songs personify into *Munya,* and represent as sister to *Thunder* (Grom), and bride of the Moon (Mièsets, masc., Vuk 1, 151-4 new ed.), which jumps with our personification of *Hammer* (p. 181. 999). So much the more is Molniya identical with Miölnir. The Romans too must have regarded the thunderbolt, silex, as a 'Jovis lapis': *Lapidem silicem* tenebant juraturi per Jovem, haec verba dicentes, 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem!' Those about to take an oath fetched out of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius a staff and '*lapidem silicem* quo foedus ferirent,' exactly as covenants were hallowed by Thôr's hammer. Acc. to Livy 1, 24, when a swine was sacrificed, it was struck with this stone: 'Tu illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque': id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. This is like our malediction, 'Hammer strike thee!' The Finns in like manner called the thunderbolt *Ukonkivi,* stone of Ukko the progenitor; the Indians *hîra, hîraka, Indra's thunderstone* (Pott's Etym. for. 2, 421) or *vajra,* which means at once thunderbolt and diamond. As this makes it partake the nature of the brightest of stones, our fathers saw in it the hard flint, the Romans the silex; myth and superstition alike accord to it the noblest powers: '*malleum* aut *silicem aërium,* ubi puerpera decumbit, obvolvunt candido linteo contra infestationem fearum, albarum feminarum, strygum, lamiarum,' Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol., Ultraj. 1651. 3, 121 (see Suppl.).

As there is supposed to be a *philosopher's stone* (lapis sapientum), that imparts wisdom, or the art of making gold and prolonging life (*ôska-steinn*, wishing-stone, p. 144), Scandinavia also had its legend of the *lîf-steinn*. In Kormakssaga cap. 12, p. 116-8 Bersi wears one on his neck, which brings him succour in swimming (see Suppl.).

Only large stones, such as mountains and rocks, are named after gods, heroes or giants, who dwell upon them, or have hurled them; rarely particular species of stone, at all events no healing ones. A certain slate indeed was called giant's bread, *jyvrikling* (p. 546), a tufa *näckebröd* (p. 489), a coal-stone *Surtarbrandr* (p. 809).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SPELLS AND CHARMS.

A yet stronger power than that of herb or stone lies in the spoken *word*, and all nations use it both for blessing and cursing.[1] But these, to be effective, must be choice, well knit, rhythmic words (verba concepta), must have *lilt* and *tune*; hence all that is strong in the speech wielded by priest, physician, magician, is allied to the forms of poetry.

Expressions for 'saying, singing' pass into the sense of 'conjuring': *ἀοιδή* (p. 899) becomes *ἐπαοιδή*, Od. 19, 457, *ἐπῳδή*, our 'sprechen, singen' become *besprechen*, *besingen*, schwören (Goth. svaran = respondere) *beschwören* (Goth. bisvaran *ὁρκίζειν*); so jurare *conjurare*, cantare *incantare*. The OHG. *galstar*, AS. *galdor*, gealdor, ON. *galdr* (incantatio) have sprung out of galan = canere; the AS. *spell*, strictly dictum, fabula, Goth. spill, was tortured into meaning magic spell [and *charm*, Fr. *charme* is from carmen].

Opposed to blessing is cursing, to the wholesome the hurtful. For the former the Goth still used his native word *þiuþeins εὐλογία*, from þiuþjan *εὐλογεῖν*; the OHG. *segan* dicatio, dedicatio, benedictio, comes from Lat. signum, the AS. segen meant merely signum in the sense of flag; MHG. *segen*, like our own, stands for magic as well. *Κακολογεῖν* is in Ulph. ubil-qiþan maledicere, but flêkan simply plangere, while the OHG. *fluochôn* (MHG. vluochen, our fluchen) is already maledicere, imprecari, and *fluoh* maledictio (masc., quite distinct from fem. fluoh, rupes). OS. farflôcan maledicere, harm-quidi maledictum. Another word is OHG. *farhuâzan*, MHG. *verwâzen*[2] detestari, condemnare, appar.

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[1] Pliny 28, 2 [3—5] examines the force of '*verba* et *incantamenta carminum*' in many striking examples.

[2] '*Var hin verwâzen* (begone, with a curse to you), vil gar *verteilter* snê!' Ms. 1, 23^{a}. 'nu *var* von mir *verwâzen*' and 'êweclich *verlorn!*' Ls. 3, 77. '*var* von mir *verstôzen!*' MsH. 3, 441^{b}.

allied to AS. 'hwâtung divinatio,' Poenit. Ecgb. 2, 23. 4, 19. AS. *wergan* (misspelt wirgan, wyrgan) maledicere, detestari, strictly damnare, Goth. vargjan, OS. waragian. AS. *cursian*, Engl. *curse*. The ON. *bœn* precatio, AS. *bên* (p. 31) both border on imprecatio (see Suppl.).

Cursing, 'becrying, becalling,' may indeed be done aloud, but as a rule both blessing and cursing require soft murmured whispered speech. OHG. *huispalôn* sibilare, Graff 4, 1239, AS. *hwistlian*, as whistling and hissing are imputed to the serpent who fascinates; MHG. *wispeln*: 'wispeln wilde vogel zemt, hunde ez letzet und lemt,' Renn. 22370; the asp will hear no *wispelwort*, Ms. 2, 202ᵇ; 'aller würmel (insects') *wispel* unde *mürmel*,' Mart. 74ᶜ, for *murmeln* is the same thing too, OHG. *murmulôn, murmurôn*, our mummeln, mompeln, to mumble. Paul. Diac. 1, 13 in describing manumissio per sagittam, adds: '*immurmurantes*, ob rei firmitatem, quaedam patria verba,' a Langobardic hallowing spell.[1] Similar expressions are OHG. *mutilôn*, Graff 2, 707, and our *protzeln, pretzeln, pröpeln*, signifying first the sound of water simmering, and then very appropriately the muttering of a spell: '*protzeln* and *wispeln* over the sick man' is to mutter a charm or blessing; in some parts *prebeln*, Nethl. *preevelen*; Franke's Weltb. 134ᵃ has *pretzeln* (see Suppl.).

But the most legitimate and oldest word of all is the Goth. *runa*, commonly the equivalent for *μυστήριον*, sometimes for *βουλή, συμβούλιον*. I believe it meant in the first place what is spoken softly and solemnly, then secondly a mystery: *συμβούλιον* is secret counsel. From secret speech to secret writing is but a step, as the ON. mâl means both speech and sign. For *γραφή, γράμμα* Ulph. always puts mêl, not runa, because none of the passages happen to speak of secret writing; one might wager that runa was the familiar term for this, as the early Franks had rûna = litera. OHG. rûna, AS. rûn, character magicus, mysterium, Cædm. 211, 12. 250, 6. 262, 9, this last with an obvious reference to 'bôcstafas' in 262, 7. ON. rûn litera, but runa linea, which coexistence of *û* and *u* assures us of a strong verb 'riúna, raun, runum,' whence also raun (tentamen, experiment), reyna (tentare), perh. reynir (service or rönn tree, p. 1215). The

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[1] Ter novies carmen magico *demurmurat* ore, Ov. Met. 14, 57.

OHG. *rûnên* susurrare, *rûnazan* murmurare, MHG. *rûnen,* our *raunen,* AS. *rûnian,* Engl. *round,* keep the original meaning of secret whispering, and OHG. ôr-rûno is a confidant, one who rounds things in your ear. The ON. transitive rŷna is secretum scrutari, literas scrutari, and supplies the link to raun above. In Ben. 378 *sanfte rûnen* stands opposed to public singing. Finn. *runo* is a song (p. 901). And now a term that has often come before us becomes perfectly clear, and what is more, proves a good fit all round: the wise-woman of the ancient Germans is called *Aliruna,* because she is *alja-runa,* and speaking secret words not understood of the common folk, has skill at once in writing and in magic; hers is the Gothic runa, hers the AS. rûncræft. *Ali* can only mean 'other (than common), strange, not vulgar and profane,' and thus heightens the meaning of runa. And this name of the heathen priestesses could easily be transferred to the holy herb (p. 1202) which perhaps pertained to their ritual.

The olden time divided runes into many classes, and if the full import of their names were intelligible to us, we might take in at one view all that was effected by magic spells. They were painted, scratched or carved, commonly on *stone* or *wood,* 'runstones, runstaves'; *reeds* served the same purpose (p. 1083-4). The OHG. *hahalrûna, îsrûna, lagorûna* are named after the letters 'hahal, îs, lago'; *clofrûna* and *stofrûna* remain doubtful, the latter appar. the mere tip (stupf, apex). *Hellirûna* means necromancy, death-rune, and plainly refers to Halja, Hella; I connect with it our *höllen-zwang,* control over hell, by which is understood the mightiest of magic spells, such as Doctor Faust possessed. *Holzrûna* is to be taken not of a thing, but of a person, the wood-wife, lamia (p. 433), not without some allusion to her moaning and muttering. The OHG. women's names Kundrûn, Hiltirûn, Sigirûn, Fridurûn, Paturûn, are properly those of valkyrs, but also traceable to a non-personal *kundrûna, hiltirûna, sigirûna, fridurûna, paturûna*; and it is worth noticing, that the personal names lack the final *-a,* and are consigned to a different declension. From the MHG. knierûnen (to croon over one's knee), MS. 2, 137^a, may be inferred a subst. *knierûne.* The AS. *beadorûn,* Beow. 996 is litera belli = bellum, rixa; while *helrûne* 324 and *burgrûne* (p. 404n.) are a personal furia, parca, death's messenger; a gloss in Lye puts it for pythonissa. In

Sæm. 194-5 Sigrdrîfa, i.e. Brynhildr, herself a valkyr, enumerates to Sigurð the runes which it was most needful for her to know: the goblet she hands him is '*fullr lioða* ok *lîknstafa*, gôðra *galdra* ok *gamanrûna*,' full of lays and leech-staves, good spells and runes of bliss. She goes on to name *sigrûnar, ölrûnar, biargrûnar, brimrûnar, mâlrûnar, hugrûnar*, runes of victory, of ale, of the rock, the sea, speech and thought. I am only doubtful as to ölrûn, because the proper name *Ölrûn* is evidently the Aliruna of Tacitus; we can scarcely derive all the alirûnes from alus, ölr, ale, and I would rather hazard a guess, either that Ölrûn stands for Elrûn, Elirûn, having got confounded with ölrûn, or that the *û* of the second syllable converted the *a* of the first into *ö* [quite the rule in declension and conjugation, not in composition]. In Sæm. 165^b *sakrûnar* contentiones. Danish folksongs often speak of *ramme runer*, powerful runes 1, 235. 280. 2, 33. 3, 335. 4, 47 (see Suppl.).

Oðinn passed for the inventor of all runes (p. 181-2), and in him is lodged the greatest command of *words*. Yngl. saga cap. 7: 'þat kunni hann enn at gera með *ordum einum* (do by words alone), at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snûa vindum. Oðinn vissi of allt iarðfê, hvar fôlgit var (earth-fee, where it was hid), ok hann kunni þau lioð, er upplaukz fyrir hönum (unlocked itself to him) iörðin ok biörg ok steinar ok haugarnir, ok *batt* (bound) hann með *ordum einum* þâ er fyrir biuggu (dwelt), ok gekk (went) inn ok tôk þar slîkt er hann vildi.' Afzelius in Sagoh. 1, 4 mentions, too briefly and indistinctly, a strange Swedish folk-tale of one Kettil Runske of Kettilsâs in Alsheda, who stole *Odin's rune-sticks* (runekaflar), and with them cast a spell on his hounds and bulls, nay at last on the merwoman that would have come to Odin's aid. By this Odin seems to be meant a shepherd or giant representing the former god; the surname *runske* evidently has to do with the acquisition and possession of the staves.

Songs and *runes* then can do very great things. They are able to kill and bring to life, as well as prevent from dying; to heal or make sick, bind up wounds, stanch blood, alleviate pain, and lull to sleep; quench fire, allay the sea-storm, bring rain and hail; to burst bonds, undo chains and bolts, open mountains or close them up, and unlock treasures; to forward or delay a birth;

to make weapons strong or soft, dull the edge of a sword; loop up knots, loose the bark off a tree (p. 1085), spoil a crop (fruges excantare); call up evil spirits and lay them, to bind thieves. These wonders lie in the very nature of poesy (p. 907-8). The Rûnatal, Sæm. 28—30, specifies eighteen effects of runes (see Suppl.).

Curses, imprecations have a peculiar force of their own. Our MHG. poets have '*tiefe* fluochen,' deeply, Ms. 2, 188^a; '*swinde* fluochen,' vehemently, Helbl. 2, 518 and *zorn-vluoch,* wrath-curse 1, 656. Full of meaning is the phrase: 'ich brach des vluoches *herten kiesel,*' I brake yon curse's stubborn flint, MsH. 2, 339^b, its action is hard as pebbles, and not easy to break. Walther says 73, 29:

Zwêne *herzelîche flüeche* kan ich ouch,
die fluochent nâch dem willen mîn.
hiure müezen's beide esel und der gowk
gehœren, ê si enbizzen sîn.
wê in (woe to them) denne, den vil armen!

(two round curses ken I eke, hitting whomso I bespeak; them both ass and gowk shall hear, ere they baited be this year, etc.). Curses received on an empty stomach are the more effectual. It is the vulgar opinion in Ireland that a curse once uttered must alight on something: it will *float in the air* seven years, and may descend any moment on the party it was aimed at; if his guardian angel but forsake him, it takes forthwith the shape of some misfortune, sickness or temptation, and strikes his devoted head. So in the Pentam. 2, 7 a curse takes wing, and mounts to heaven: '*mesero* le' mardettiune dessa vecchia *l'ascelle,* che *sagliettero subeto 'n cielo.*' When a horse has been cursed, his hair is thought to be luminous: 'a cavallo iastemmiato luce lo pilo,' ibid.

Specimens of the most vigorous cursing might be picked out of our old poetry; one in the Edda, Sæm. 144^a,

nio röstom er þû skyldir neðar vera,
ok vaxi þer â baðmi barr!

may remind us of the phrases culled from our common people's talk, pp. 181-2. 952n. In a minnesong, Ben. 82: 'der nider schar, daz die *vor kilchen* lægen!' the low set, may they lie outside of church (in unconsecrated ground),[1] 'der bluomen schîn sol iemer sîn von ir gewalt gescheiden,' put out of their reach. The runes on a tombstone will occasionally end with a curse against him that shall roll away or remove the stone: 'at ryði sa verði (may he turn to rust) sa stain þansi velti!' So Latin deeds of the Mid. Ages wind up with imprecations on the violator, but scriptural ones pronounced by the church.

Here is a string of curses from a MHG. poem: 'God from thee thy wife release! Fish, fowl, worm, beast and man Storm the stronghold of thy peace! Where'er thou go, Be grace thy foe! All good women's greeting shun thee! Thy seed, thy crop be cankered too, The curse that dried Gilboa's dew Rest upon thee!' MsH. 3, 52 (see Suppl.).

Though as a rule sowing is to be accompanied by prayer and blessing, there are some plants that *thrive* better *under cursing*: 'Nihil ocimo (basil) foecundius, *cum maledictis ac probris serendum* praecipiunt, ut laetius proveniat, sato pavitur terra. Et cuminum qui serunt, *precantur ne exeat*,' Pliny 19, 7 [36].[2] 'Napos serere nudum volunt, *precantem* sibi et vicinis serere se,' 18, 13 [35].

To adjure solemnly is in OHG. *munigôn* inti *manôn* (hortari et monere), AS. *mynegian* and *manian*: 'sîs *bimunigôt* thuruh then himilisgon Got, *bisuoran* thuruh thes forahta (fear of Him), ther alla worolt worahta!' O. iv. 19, 47. 'ih *bimuniun* dih' begins the formula in Spell VII. Even in MHG.: 'des wart vil manec wilder geist von ir *gemuniet* und *gemant*,' Troj. 10519 (see Suppl.).

Hellirûna, necromantia, shews itself in the lays sung after the heathen fashion *on graves* and *barrows*, to make the dead speak or send something out. The Indiculus superst. distinguishes between 'sacrilegium ad sepulcra mortuorum' and 'sacrilegium super defunctos, id est *dadsisas*.' Dâd is for dôd, dêd (conf. nêdfyr, nôdfyr, p. 603-4); the OS. *sisas* I take to be the OHG. *sisuwâ* neniae, of which the sing. would be sisu, siso: *sisesang* is carmen lugubre, Diut. 2, 283b. Graff 6, 281, and an OS. form of confession has 'ik gihôrda (heard) hetlunnussia endi unhrênia (unclean) *sespilon,'* perh. for sese-spilon, dirge-spells; the same obscure root appears in proper names Sisebutus, Sisenandus, etc., etc., Gramm. 2, 476. *Hetlunnussia* must mean imprecations, conf. OS. hatol dirus, Hel. 110, 8 and OHG. hazzal malitiosus, Gl. Hrab. 957a. Neniae are carmina funebria, hymns in honour of the dead; Britferthi vita Dunstani (b. 925) cap. 1 (Acta sanct. 19 May) says of that saint: '*avitae gentilitatis* vanissima didicisse *carmina,* et historiarum frivolas colere *incantationum nenias.'* In the same way Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 1: 'ad vicum in quo fanatici erroris *naeniae* colebantur.' An AS. *byrgensang* translates epitaphium, and Mone's Glosses 943-4 give *lîcsang, lîcleoð* epicedium, *byriensang, bergelsleoð, byrgleoð* carmen super tumulum. Hroswitha's Proterius says of an adjuration: 'supra *gentilis tumulum* sub tempore noctis *stans,* herebi domino suplex.' The ON. expression is *val-galdr* qveða, to say corpse-incantation, Sæm. 94a: by it Oðinn compelled the vala, on whom snow and rain and dew had fallen (p. 314), to rise from her barrow and answer him. Grôa's son and Hervör utter formulas almost identical: 'vaki þû Grôa! vaki þû gôð kona! vek ek þik dauðra dura,' Sæm. 97a; 'vaki þû Angantŷr! vekr þic Hervör einka dôttir ykkar Svâfu (of thee and Svâfa),' Fornald. sög. 1, 435; after a gruesome conversation with her father, the sword she craves is thrown out of the barrow. In the same way, at the son's adjuration, a sword is handed out of the tomb in the folksong of Orm (Sv. fornsânger 2, 446-7. Danske viser 1, 59. 60-6-7), and in a Faröe song of Virgar, i.e. Wudga, Witege (Lyngbye p. 369). Wolfdietrich constrains the dead tongue of his buried father to utter seven words, Cod. Dresd. 313 (see Suppl.).

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[1] A surname Outkirk must have meant the Excommunicated: Rudolphus de Solodoro cognomine *vor chilchun*, Hartmannus dictus *vor kilchon* (A.D. 1260). Solothurner wochenbl. 1827, pp. 128. 160.

[2] Fischart's Garg. 244^{b}: 'diss fůrmans gebett treibt schif und wagen, ein hauptmansfluch etzt durch neun harnisch. ich könt dannoch wol basilien, quendel und kressen setzen, dann dieselben vom fluchen gedeien. darumb wards jenes mannes entschuldigung vor dem richter, warumb er sein weib gereuft hette, nemblich darumb weil er hat rauten setzen müssen'; his excuse for thrashing his wife was, he had to plant some rue.

As the spoken spell bursts open the tomb, so do locks and bars give way before it. Ferabras 2759:

> Venc a l'us de la cambra, si la trobat tancada,
> et *a dit son conjur*: tota s'es desfermada.

Though the following passage in Meier Helmbrecht 1205 mentions only the act of approaching, the cattle-stealer must, as he drew near, have uttered some unloosing spell:

> Mîn geselle Wolves-drüzzel (-throttle, -throat)

ûf tuot er âne slüzzel (opens without key)
alliu slôz und îsenhalt (bolts and iron staples)
in einem jâr hân ich gezalt (counted)
hundert îsenhalte grôz,
daz ie daz slôz dannen schôz (aye the bolt shot out of them,
als er *von verre gie dar zuo* (from far came towards them);
ros, ohsen und manic kuo,
die ungezalt sint beliben,
die er ûz dem hove hât getriben,
daz ie daz slôz von sîner stat (from its place)
schôz, *swann er dar zuo trat* (when he stept thereto).

Even now some thieves and sharpers have the reputation of being able to 'bespeak' their chains and locks, and make them burst.

Gods and daemons could of their mere might raise wind and storm, magicians did the same by means of song. Saxo Gram. p. 71 has a certain Oddo, 'vir magicae doctus, ita ut absque carina altum pererrans hostilia saepe navigia *concitatis carmine procellis* everteret.' These tempestarii have been dealt with, p. 638. Again: 'carminibus in nimbos solvere coelum,' ibid. 17. But song could turn away storm and hail, as well as draw it on: 'cum averti *carmine* grandines credant plerique, cujus verba inserere non equidem serio ausim,' Pliny 17, 28 [47].

As the whole of sorcery sank into the hands of old wives, and the faith of bygone times was called *kerlînga villa,* Sæm. 169, *alter wîbe troume,* Turl. Wh. 1, 82^a, *γραώδεις μῦθοι,* 1 Tim. 4. 7, in Gothic 'us-alþanáizô spilla'; the healing formulas handed down from the past fared no better. Already in the 12th cent. the Miracula S. Matthiae (by a Benedictine of Treves) expresses itself thus, cap. 34: 'cujus dolore mater affecta medicinam et *anilia* adhibuit *carmina,*' Pez. thes. anec. 2, 3 p. 234 (see Suppl.).

These superstitious formulas are a gain to the history of our mythology, they yield information about deities and practices of heathenism, which but for them would be utterly lost. Even books by churchmen find room for them, because their use in certain cases, diseases of cattle for instance, was still considered lawful and beneficial. A comprehensive collection of them would be sure to lead to discoveries, but the time is hardly ripe for it yet, as they lie scattered, and have to be slowly gathered from the mouth of the people and out of witch-trials.[1] Here let a few striking examples place beyond a doubt, not only their value, but their obstinate diffusion through nearly the whole of Europe.

In the Merseburg MS. the first poem is a *bond-spell,* to be sung while tying or unloosing bands, and this time relating to the release of a prisoner:

Eiris sâzun *idisi,* sâzun hera duoder,
suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,
suma clûbôdun umbi cuoniowidi:
'insprincg haptbandum, invar vigandum!'

i.e. Olim sedebant nymphae, sedebant huc illuc (AS. þider, thither), aliae vincula vinciebant, aliae exercitum morabantur, aliae carpebant redimicula: 'exsili e vinculis, elabere hostibus!' Wackernagel was the first to penetrate the sense of the last line, by which the last but one is also made clear: the plucking (clawing) at the bonds slackens their hold, and the captive then can slip them off. Of 'hapt heptian' I have spoken p. 401; the binding and unbinding is alluded to in our minnesongs. Beda 4, 22 tells of a man who could not be kept bound: '*nec* tamen *vinciri potuit,* nam mox ut abiere qui vinxerant, eadem ejus sunt vincula soluta . . . Interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare coepit, quare ligari non posset, an forte *literas solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt,* apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset? At ille respondit, nihil se *talium artium* nosse.' He was sold to a third man: 'sed nec ab illo ullatenus potuit alligari.' Beda's explanation of the marvel is, that his friends, thinking him dead, had had masses said for the deliverance of his soul. The AS. version goes a step farther, which seems worthy of notice: 'and hine âcsade, hwæðer he þâ *âlŷsendlîcan rûne* cuðe, and þâ *stânas mid him âwritene* hæfde, be swylcum men leás spell secgað.' What were these stones written over with runes, which the translator had in his mind?——We have to suppose *three sets* of women, each plying a separate task (see Suppl.).

The second Merseburg formula is for healing a *lamed horse*:

Phol ende *Wôdan* vuorun zi holza,
dô wart demo *Balderes* volon sîn vuoz birenkit (wrenched);

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[1] Horst borrowed for his Zauberbibl. a parchm. MS. of the 15th cent. full of spells, from which he has extracted nothing, and which is missing at Treves ever since.

dô biguolen *Sinthgunt*, *Sunnâ* era suister,
dô biguolen *Frûwâ*, *Follâ* era suister,
dô biguolen *Wôdan*, sô he wola conda,
sôse bên-renki, sôse bluot-renki,
sôse lidi-renki . . . .
bên zi bêna, bluot zi bluoda,
lid zi giliden, sôse gelîmida sîn.

Here is sung an adventure that befell the two gods (p. 224), and how Wôdan healed the sprained foot of Balder's foal by besinging it (bigalan). And now the repetition of the song cures other lame horses too. What the rest of the gods cannot do, *Wôdan* can, just as the Yngl. saga 7 says of him: 'Oðinn kunni at gera með ordum (words alone) einum at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snûa vindum hverja leið er hann vildi.' He is the greatest magician or wonder-man of all.

Now observe in what shapes the same spell shews itself surviving in the popular superstitions of today. In Norway:

Jesus reed sig til hede,
da reed han sönder sit fole-been (his foal's leg asunder).
Jesus stigede af, og lägte det:
Jesus lagde marv i marv,
been i been, kjöd i kjöd,
Jesus lagde derpaa et blad (thereon a leaf),
at det skulde blive i samme stad.

In Sweden, for a horse's ailment *flåg* (our anflug, fit):

Oden står på berget (stands on the hill),
han spörjer (speers, asks) efter sin fole,
floget har han fått.——
spotta (spit) i din hand, och i hans mun (his mouth),
han skall få bot (get boot) i samma stund (hour).

Whilst another begins thus:

Frygge frågade frå:
huru skall man bota (heal)
den flåget får (sheep)?

The two Swedish stanzas, evidently incomplete, are given by F. Magnusen in the Dagen 1842 no. 119, from Mimer, Ups. 1839. p. 277. That similar snatches of song still live in the Netherlands, I am informed in a letter from Halbertsma: 'Een mijner boeren gaf my voorleden jaar een rijm, dat de toverdokters prevelden, terwijl zij den verrukten voet van een pard (foot of a horse) met de hand van boven naar beneden stroken, en alzo genazen.' I wish he had sent me the rhyme itself.

What sounds more significant is a Scotch tradition I take out of Chambers's Fireside stories, Edinb. 1842. p. 37: 'When a person has received a sprain, it is customary to apply to an individual practised in casting the *wresting thread.* This is a thread spun from *black wool,* on which are cast *nine knots,* and *tied round a sprained leg or arm.* During the time the operator is putting the thread round the affected limb, he says, but *in such a tone of voice as not to be heard by the bystanders,* nor even by the person operated upon:

The *Lord* rade,
and the foal slade;
he lighted,
and he righted,
set joint to joint,
bone to bone,
and sinew to sinew.
Heal in the Holy Ghost's name!'

Here the spell serves for sprains even in the human body, though it set out with the sliding of the foal; and to the whispered words is added a ligature of woollen thread in nine knots.

How exact the agreement, in these perfectly independent versions, of their 'bên zi bêna, been i been, bone to bone,' their 'lid zi giliden, kjöd i kjöd, sinew to sinew'! Those who cannot believe in the faithful preservation of what is entrusted to popular memory, have here an example extending from the 10th cent. to the 19th over Germany, Scotland and Scandinavia. It is certain that the same or similar words have been superstitiously repeated countless times in all the countries of Teutonic tongue. The Cod. Vatic. 4395 has on fol. 83ᵃ the following charm: 'Gott wurden iiii nagel (God had 4 nails) in sein hend und fuez geslagen, da von er iiii wunden enphie, do er an dem heiligen chreuz hieng (l. hie). die funft wunden im Longinus stach, er west nicht waz er an ihm rach . . . an dem dritten tag gepot (bade) Got dem lichnam, der in der erden lag, fleisch zu fleisch, pluet zu pluet, adern zu adern, pain zu pain, gelider zu gelidern, yslichs (each) an sein stat. bei Demselbigen gepeut ich dir (bid I thee) fleisch zu fleisch,' etc.

But what is more, a great deal farther back, among the very oldest Romans, there lingered *dislocation-spells* full of unintelligible words. The one partially quoted p. 224-5 from Cato may as well be inserted in full, as it throws light on the nature of our

German charms. 'Luxum si quod est, hac *cantione* sanum fiet. Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam. Mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe *cantare* "in alio. s. f. motas vaetas daries dardaries astataries Dissunapiter," usque dum coëant. Ferrum insuper jactato. Ubi coierint et altera alteram tetigerit, id manu prende, et dextra sinistra praecide. Ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga, sanum fiet, et tamen quotidie *cantato* "in alio s. f. vel *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat hanat huat ista pista sista, domiabo damnaustra, et *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat haut ista sis tar sis ardannabon dunnaustra."' It is of this invocation that Pliny says at the end of book 17: '*Carminis verba* inserere non equidem serio ausim, quanquam a Catone prodita, contra luxata membra, jungenda *arundinum* fissurae.' The words do seem nonsense to us now, and may also be corrupt; but why should not they belong originally to the Sabine or some neighbouring language of ancient Italy, that we know very little of? The rhymes *ista pista sista* and the alliteration 'domiabo damnaustra' (the 'dannabon dunnaustra' that follows is the same over again, and ought to have an 'ista pista sista' before it too) remind us of the rhyming spell in Virgil's Ecl. 8: 'Limus ut hic *durescit* et haec ut cera *liquescit* Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.' *Dissunapiter* is the god invoked, like the Phol and Wodan of our spells. Marcellus Empiricus, a physician of the 4th cent., has in his De Medicamentis a charm for pain of the heart: 'In lamella stannea scribes et ad collum suspendes haec, antea vero etiam cane, Corcu ne mergito, cave corcu ne mergito cantorem, utos, utos, utos, praeparavi tibi vinum lene, libidinem, discede a nonita, in nomine Dei Jacob, in nomine Dei Sebaoth!' (see Suppl.)

In the Cod. Vindob. theol. 259 Latin and German spells are intermixed. '(*De eo quo*)*d spurihalz dicimus*.[1] si in dextero pede contigerit, in sinistra aure sanguis minuatur; si in sinistro pede, in dextera aure minuatur sanguis. *Ad vermes occidendos. Feruina* (?) Dei gracia plena. tu habes triginta quinque indices et triginta quinque medicinas. quando Dominus ascendit ad coelos ascendit, memorare quod dixit. *Ad apes conformandos.* vos estis ancillę Domini (conf. pp. 579. 755), adjuro vos per nomen Domini, ne fugiatis a filiis hominum. *Ad pullos de nido.* crescite et multiplicamini et vivite et implete terram. *Contra sagittam diaboli.* palamiasit. palamiasit. calamia insiti per omne corpus meum. per ista tria nomina, per Patrem et Filium et Filium sanctum. aius aius aius, sanctus sanctus sanctus. in Dei nomine cardia cardiani de necessu (recessu ?) propter illum *malannum* (p. 1160), quod dominus papa ad imperatorem transmisit, quod omnis homo super se portare debet. amen. tribus vicibus. De hoc quod *spurihalz* dicunt. primum pater noster.

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[1] MHG. spurhalz, Diut. 2, 140; conf. diu spurgalze, MsH. 3, 278^b (springhalt?).

visc flôt aftar themo watare, verbrustun sîna vetherun,
thô gihêlida ina use Druhtin; the selvo Druhtin
thie gehêle that hors thera *spurihelti!*

Contra vermes:

gang ût, *nesso* mid nigun *nessiklinon*, ût fana themo margę an that bên, fan themo bêne an that flêsg, ût fan themo flêsge an thia hûd, ût fan thera . . . strâla! Druhtin werthe sô.[1]

The nesso and his nine young ones are the worms to be cast out. '*Petrus, Michahel* et *Stephanus* ambulabant per viam, sic dixit Michahel: *Stephani equus infusus*, signet illum Deus, signet illum Christus, et erbam comedat et aquam bibat.'——Two of these charms are about lame horses again, and one about a sick horse (Ducange sub. v. infusio, infusus equus). Also the transitions from marrow to bone (or sinews), to flesh and hide, resemble phrases in the sprain-spells (see Suppl.).

The oldest and most beautiful charms of all nations pass into prayers, which were repeated during sacrifice; the simplest are found in pastoral life. What a fresh innocence breathes in those prayers to the Thunder-god (p. 176)! When the Cheremisses keep their grand feast of Shurem, and bring quiet offerings of peace, at which *no female creature must be seen* (conf. p. 1152n.), they speak a prayer, out of which I pick a few sentences: 'Who to God hath sacrificed, to him God give health and wealth, bestowing on the babes that shall be born store of money, bread, bees and cattle. May he cause the bees to swarm this year and make plenty of honey. When spring draws nigh, O God, let the three kinds of cattle set out on their three ways, defend them from deep mire, from bears, wolves and thieves. As the hops are thick and springy, so bless us with good hap and sound mind! As the light burneth bright, so live we our life! as the wax daily addeth to itself,[1] so be our increase!' (from Aleks. Fuks 'O Chuvashakh i Cheremisakh,' Kazan 1840, in Erman's Archiv 1841, 2nd no.).

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[1] A Cod. Tegerns. 524, 2 at Munich has a more complete version in OHG.: 'gang ûz, *nesso* mit niun *nessinclînon*, ûz fonna marga in deô âdra, vonna dên âdrun in daz fleisk, fonna demu fleiske in daz fel, fonna demo velle in diz tulli. ter pater noster.' So nesso has *ss* in OHG. too. Tulli, like strâla, is an implement, conf. MHG. tülle, Nib. 897, 3 and Haupt on Engelh. 1916. [Strâla is arrow; tülle the hole in the arrow-shaft for inserting the head. The disease charmed into your arrow, will pass on to your enemy (?)—TRANS.]

'Dapem pro bubus piro florente facito. Dapem hoc modo fieri oportet. *Jovi dapali* culignam vini quantum vis polluceto. Eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis, et qui dapem facient. Cum pollucere oportebit, sic facias: *Jupiter dapalis,* quod tibi fieri oportet, in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ejus rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto! macte vino inferio esto! *Vestae,* si voles, dato. Daps *Jovi* assaria pecuina, urna vini *Jovi* caste. Profanato sine contagione, postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim' (Cato de re rust. 132).

Along with this, take (from Cod. Exon. 5214) an AS. *bôt,* i.e. puoza (bettering) of barren land blasted by magic. 'Her is seo bôt, hû þû meaht þîne *æceras bêtan,* gif hî nellað wel weaxan, oððe þær hwilc ungedêfe þing ongedôn bið, on drŷ oððe on lyblâce.

'Genim þonne (take then) on niht, *ær hit dagige, feower tyrf* on feower healfa þæs landes, and gemearca hû hî ær stôdon. nim þonne *ele* and *hunig* and *beorman,* and ælces feos *meolc* (each cattle's milk) þe on þæm lande sî, and ælces *treowcynnes* (tree-kind) dæl, þe on þæm lande sî geweaxen, *bûtan heardan beáman,* and ælcre namcuðre *wyrte* dæl, *bûtan glappan ânon;* and dô þonne hâlig wæter þæron, and drŷpe þonne þriwa (thrice) on þone staðol þâra turfa, and cweðe þonne þâs word: Crescite, weaxe, et multiplicamini, and gemænigfealde, et replete, and gefylle, terram, þâs eorðan, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti

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[1] Quidquid tangebam *crescebat tanquam favus,* Petron. cap. 43. 79; alluding to the steady growth of the honeycomb in the hive. When the Servian badniak burns at Yule, the invited polaznik steps up to the log, and strikes it with a shovel, making the sparks fly, and saying: 'As many sheep, as many goats, as many swine, as many oxen, as many god-sends and blessings, *as here fly sparks!*' Vuk's Montenegro p. 106.

benedicti, and Pater noster swâ oft swâ þæt oðer. And bere siððan þâ *turf* tô cyrcean, and messepreost âsinge feower messan ofer þâm turfon, and *wende man þæt grêne tô þam weofode* (altar). and siððan *gebringe* man þâ *turf, þær hî ær wæron, ær sunnan setlgange,* and hæbbe him geworht of *cwicbeáme* feower Cristes mælo, and âwrîte on ælcon ende Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. lege þæt Cristes mæl on þone pyt neoðeweardne, cweðe þonne: Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes. nim þonne þâ *turf* and sette þær ufon on, and cweðe nigon siðon (9 times) þâs word: Crescite, and swâ oft Pater noster. and wende þe þonne eástweard, and onlût (bow) nigon siðon eádmôdlîce (humbly), and cweð þonne þâs word:

Eástweard ic stande, ârena (favours) ic me bidde,
bidde ic þone mæran Dryhten, b. i. þ. miclan Dryhten,
bidde ic þone hâligan heofonrîces Weard.
eorðan ic bidde and *upheofon,*
and þâ sôðan sancta *Marian,*
and heofenes meaht and heáhreced,
þæt ic môte *þis gealdor* mid gife Dryhtnes
tôðum ontŷnan þurh trumme geþanc,
âweccan þâs wæstmas (fruits) us to woruldnytte (our use),
gefyllan þâs foldan (fields) mid fæste geleáfan,
wlitigian þâs *wangturf,* swâ se wîtega cwæð,
þæt se (he) hæfde âre (honour) on eorðrîce se þe (who) ælmyssan
dælde dômlice Dryhtnes þances (for the sake).

Wende þe þonne þriwa *sun-ganges. âstrecce þe* þonne *on andlang,* and ârim þær letanias, and cweð þonne, Sanctus sanctus sanctus, oð ende. sing þonne Benedicite *âþenedon* (outstretched) *earmon,* and Magnificat and Pater noster III, and bebeod hit Criste and sancta Marian and þære hâlgan rôde tô lofe and tô weorðinga (to the praise and glory of Christ, etc.), and þam tô âre (to the benefit of him) þe þæt land âge, and eallon þâm þe him underþeodde (subject) sint. Þonne (when) þæt eall sî gedôn, þonne *nime* man *uncûð sæd* æt *ælmesmannum,* and selle him twâ swylc swylce man æt him nime, and gegaderie ealle his *sulhgeteogo* (plough-tackle) tô gædere. borige þonne on þam beáme *stôr* and *finol* and gehâlgode *sâpan* and *gehâlgod sealt.* nim þonne

þæt sæd, sete on þæs *sulhes* bodig. cweð þonne:

Erce, erce, erce, eorðan môdor,[1]
geunne þe se alwealda êce Dryhten (God grant thee)
æcera weaxendra and wriðendra,
eácniendra and elniendra;
sceáf tæce[2] se scîra (reaper) wæstma,
and þære brâdan bere wæstma (barley's fruit),
and þære hwîtan hwæte wæstma,
and ealra eorðan wæstma.
geunne him êce Dryhten
and his hâlige þe on heofonum sint,
þæt his yrð sî gefriðod (spared) wið ealra feonda gehwæne,
and heo sî geborgen (protected) wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,
þâra lyblâca geond land sâwen.
nu bidde ic þone Wealdend, se þe þâs weoruld gesceôp,
þæt ne sî nân tô þæs cwidol wîf, ne tô þæs cræftig man,
þæt âwendan ne mæge word þus gecweðene.

þonne man þâ *sulh forð drîfe* and þâ *forman furh onsceote* (cleaves the first furrow), cweð þonne:

hâl wes þû *folde, fira môdor*!
beo þû grôwende on Godes fæðme (bosom, lap),
fôdre gefylled firum tô nytte (for use to men)!

nim þonne *ælces cynnes melo,* and *âbace* man *inneweardre handa brâdne hlâf,* and gecned hire mid meolce and mid hâlig wætere, and *lecge under þâ forman furh.* cweð þonne:

ful æcer fôdres fira-cynne (for mankind)
beorht blôwende, þû geblêtsod weorð
þæs hâligan naman, þe þâs heofon gesceôp
and þâs eorðan þe we on lifiað.
se God þe þâs grundas geweorhte geunne us grôwende gife,
þæt us corna gehwylc cume tô nytte!

cweð þonne þriwa Crescite in nomine Patris benedicti amen, and Pater noster þriwa.

This notable document, notwithstanding that christian ceremonies have crept into it, seems to reach far back to the early times of heathen sacrifices and husbandry. As the daps was spread and the winebowl emptied to Jove, after which the millet, panic, leek and lentils might be sown, so ploughing is here preceded by sacrificial rites. Sods are cut out from the four corners of the field, oil, honey and barm, milk of each sort of cattle, some of every kind of tree (except hard wood, i.e. oak and beech, RA. 506), and of all name-known herbs (save burs) are laid on the sods, and holy water sprinkled; then the 'four turfs' are carried into church, the green side being turned to the altar, four masses are said over them, and before sunset they are taken back to their places in the field. And now the spells are spoken; unknown seed is bought of beggar-men (conf. p. 1138), and placed on the plough, another spell is recited, and the first furrow ploughed with a 'Hail Earth, mother of men,' etc. Then *meal of every kind* is taken, a large loaf kneaded with milk is baked and laid under the first furrow, and one more spell is spoken. We know the Romans offered meal-cakes and fruit in their corn-fields; but it seems to me that our own ordinances (weisthümer) have unconsciously preserved vestiges of the heathen rite: 'when the plower cometh to an end of the furrow, there shall he find a *pot of honey,* and at the other end a *pot of milk,* wherewith to refresh him lest he faint' (Weisth. 2, 547, 'melts' here must be for 'milch,' it cannot be meal or malt). Further: 'at the plowing shall be brought a *loaf* so great that one may stick it on the axle of the *plow-wheel,* and therewith plow a furrow; if the loaf do break when the furrow is done, and the plower have not another wheel ready to put in its place, then shall he smart (pay a fine); if the bread break ere the furrow be finished, let him fare home unfined' (2, 356). Sometimes the regulation runs thus: 'if the plower break a wheel, he shall for penance provide a *loaf* as large round as the plow-wheel, and *baken of every grain that the plow doth win*; he shall so softly drive the plow, that a *finch* can feed her young on the wheel' (2, 179. 180), or, as expressed in 2, 547, 'that, if a grain of oat fall into the wheel, the *fowls of the air* shall pick it up.' In 2, 120 merely the size of the loaf is determined by that of the plow-wheel; but at 2, 128 it says again: 'of the *grain that the farm beareth and the mill breaketh,* shall be baken a cake as great as the plow-wheel, and the plower therewith plow: if the wheel break ere he come to the end, he is finable, if it break not, yet is he finable notwithstanding.' The '*cake of all grain that the mill grinds*' occurs again at 2, 147; and the '*rye-loaf* to be put in place of a plow-wheel that comes off' at 2, 262. 412. 587. What is the drift of these curious regulations? Was ever ploughman fed on milk and honey? were loaves and cakes ever stuck on the axle to cut the first furrow? They are surely the ancient sacrificial loaves, which with milk and honey poured over them were laid in the furrow (ad piamentum, p. 1196), and distributed to the ploughmen, which even the birds were allowed to peck at; their being made of *all sorts of grain,* so as to embrace the entire produce of the field, as the brâde hlâf in the AS. spell is baked of each kind of meal, goes far to decide.

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[1] The explanation of this line attempted on p. 253 remains a bold guess. Another AS. gealdor, against adder's bite, begins: 'ærce ærcre ærnem nadre ærcund bel ærnem niþærn,' etc.

[2] MS. sceafltahen. I take it as 'manipulum capiat.'

Verelius in his Notes to the Hervararsaga p. 139 tells us, that the Swedish peasants, after *baking the jula-galt* (Yule-boar p. 51), dry it, and keep it till spring; then they grate a part of it in with the seed-corn and give it to the plough-horses, and another part to the men that hold the ploughtail: 'Verrem fictum siccant, et ad veris tempus, cum semina sulcis sunt credenda, servant. Tum partem ejus comminutam in vas vel in corbem, ex quo semina sunt dispergenda, immittunt, hordeoque permixtam equis aratoribus, alteram servis stivam tenentibus comedendam relinquunt, spe forte uberioris messis percipiendae.' Here then is another sacrificial cake, which was mixt with the seed, and tasted by the ploughing men and animals; who knows but that burning the devil, and dividing and scattering his ashes over the cornfields, a deed the witches were accused of (p. 1073), may have arisen out of their baking a sacrificial cake in the shape of an idol? A cake was also baked at the Bealtine, and distributed among the multitude, p. 613.

The *culture of flax* is sure not to have been deficient in speeches and ceremonies of blessing: to this day the girls sing all kinds of songs over this work. In some places, at sowing time, the mistress of the house used to get on the table and dance, then jump off backwards: *the higher she made this leap, the higher the flax would grow* (conf. Sup. I, 519). Lasicz p. 50 says of the Samogits: 'Tertio post ilgas die deum Waizganthos colunt virgines, ut ejus beneficio tam lini quam cannabis habeant

copiam. Ubi altissima illarum, impleto placentulis quas sikies vocant sinu, et *stans pede uno in sedili* manuque sinistra sursum elata librum prolixum tiliae vel ulmo detractum, dextera vero craterem cerevisiae haec loquens tenet: Waizganthe, produc nobis *tam altum linum quam ego nunc alta sum,* neve nos nudos incedere permittas! Post haec craterem exhaurit, impletumque rursus deo in terram effundit, et placentas e sinu ejicit, a deastris, si qui sint Waizgantho, comedendas. Si haec peragens *firma perstet,* bonum lini proventum anno sequenti futurum in animum inducit; *si lapsa pede altero nitatur,* dubitat de futura copia, fidemque effectus sequitur.' In the Wetterau, at the sowing of this plant, the dame has to jump up on the fireplace, and cry: 'Heads as big as mine, leaves like my apron, and stalks like my legs!' and then the plant will turn out well (see Suppl.).

How the Romans kept the *wolf* out of their fields, we are informed by Pliny 28, 20 [81]: 'Lupos in agrum non accedere, si capti unius pedibus infractis cultroque adacto paulatim *sanguis* circa fines agri *spargatur,* atque ipse *defodiatur* in eo loco ex quo coeperit trahi; aut si *vomerem,* quo *primus sulcus* eo anno in agro ductus sit, excussum aratro, *focus larium* quo familia convenit absumat; ac lupum nulli animali nociturum in eo agro, quamdiu id fiat.'

A *herdsman's charm* from a MS. of the 15th cent. shews marks of a far remoter origin: 'ich treip heut aus in unser lieben Frauen haus, in *Abrahams garten* (conf. p. 1220), der lieber herr sant Mertein, der sol heut meines (vihes) pflegen und warten, und der lieber herr sant *Wolfgang,* der lieb herr sant Peter, der hat den himelischen slussel, die versperrent dem *wolf* und der *vohin* irn drussel, dass si weder plut lassen noch bein schroten. Des helf mir der man, der chain ubel nie hat getan (i.e. Christ, conf. 'sinless man,' p. 24, and the contrast p. 988), und die heiligen V wunden behüten mein vieh vor allen *holzhunden.* V Pater et V Ave Maria.'[1]

Here the rhymes peep out fitfully. The *wood-hounds* are

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[1] Today my herd I drove Into Our Lady's grove, Into Abraham's garden; Be good St. Martin This day my cattle's warden, May good St. Wolfgang, good St. Peter (whose key can heav'n unlock), Throat of wolf and vixen block, Blood from shedding, bone from crunching! Help me the holy one, Who ill hath never done, And his V holy wounds Keep my herd from all wood-hounds!

Wuotan's forest-hounds (p. 147), the AS. 'holtes gehlêðan,' silvae latrones, El. 223, the hölzinge (Reinh. p. lv); and that the fox named with the wolf should be *vohe* fem., is in harmony with Goth. faúhô, OHG. fohâ. The *Wolfgang* who is to fend the flock, is so named either because he gangs against the wolf, or because the wolf met the hero at a lucky moment, p. 1140n.

As I have not met with a German *bee-spell,* I will give a Latin one in Baluze's Capitul. 2, 663 taken from a St Gall MS.: 'Ad revocandum examen apum dispersum: adjuro te, *mater aviorum,* per Deum regem coelorum, et per illum redemptorem Filium Dei te adjuro, ut non te in altum levare nec longe volare, sed quam plus cito potes ad arborem venire (velis); ibi te alloces cum omni tuo genere vel cum socia tua, ibi habeo bona vasa parata, ut vos ibi in Dei nomine laboretis, etc.' *Mater aviorum* (for apum) is the AS. *beomôdor* (p. 697); the steadily waxing comb (p. 1236n.) was *beobreád,* Cod. Exon. 425, 20, MHG. *bîebrôt* (Gramm. 3, 463), but also *râz* and *wâbe* (from weaving, working, p. 697); the hive *bîekar* (vas, Goth. kasi), the fly-hole OHG. flougar (Graff 3, 163). Our forefathers had at their service many more terms in apiculture than we, and prettier (see Suppl.)

As runes were written on bast (limrûnar â berki rîsta ok â baðmi viðar, Sæm. 195^a; cortex carminibus adnotatus, Saxo Gram. 44), the olden time may have had some runes for *detaching the bast from the wood.* Incantations have power to release the babe from ante-natal durance, the hard rind from the bast. Among shepherd lads in almost every part of Germany are preserved rhymes, in singing which they keep time by tapping a piece of willow on their knee with a knife-handle, till they can *slip it off unbroken to make a whistle of.* The simplest though not oldest version is: 'Fabian, Sebastian, *lat mi de widen-flöt afgan!*' (Voss on Idyl 6, 179) or in Ditmarsen: 'Fabian, Sebastian, lat den saft ut holt gan!' It is believed that on the day of these two saints (Jan. 20) the sap enters the willow. In some places both the names are wanting, but the spell is spun out longer: '*sa sa pipe*' (prob. for *sap-pipe*), up'm mölen-dike (mill-dam) dar sit en man, de heet Johan, de har dre rode stöveln (3 red shoes) an, de ene hörde (belonged) mi to, de anner hörde di to, de drudde hörde'm papen to, do kam de ole hesse (old witch) mit en blanken meste (knife), sneet den küken den kop af, smeet'en in busch, plumps sä de busch, *is de sapipe noch nicht good?'* Halbertsma says in the Overyssel Almanack for 1836 : 'de twijg riip en gesneden zijnde, slaan (beat) de kinderen met het hecht (haft) van een mesje op een der groene rijsjes, tot dat de bast loslaat, dien zij er dan heel aftrekken (pulled off whole) en als een pijp gebruiken om op te fluiten of er erwten door te blazen. Zoo lang het kind met zijn mesje op den *bast* tikte, plag het (he used) oudtijds de volgende regelen te zingen: *Lange lange pipe, wenneer bistou ripe?* Te Meye, te Meye, as de veugeltjes eyer lekt. 'T ketjen op den dyk zat, sute melk met brokken (crumbs) at. Doe kwam de voele hesse al met de scharpe messe, wold et ketjen et oor (ear) afsnien; it ketjen ging ant lopen to hope, to hope! de voele hesse ging lopen. Heel of, half of, houwe dijn den kop af, so dood as een piere, kump sün levendage net weer hiere.' Firmenich gives the form as used in the Neumark, p. 121 : '*sipp sapp seepe, moak mi 'ne flöte!*—Wovon denn ?—Von meieroan (marjoram), von thymegoan, *det se balle* (soon) *mag afgoahn.*' And in Priegnitz, p. 131 : '*sibbe sibbe sibbe säubken, loat mi det kleine fleutken goot afgoahn,* goot afgoahn, bes up (up to) den letzten *knoaken*!'——We can see how Sebastian got in, from 'sap-pipe, sibbe sabbe,' perhaps also 'bast.' In the Böhmerwald the willow or alder twig is thus conjured (Jos. Rank p. 168) : '*pföfferl gei owa,* sist schloga dö owa ; lei's *rintl* o drahdö eiz, heargotl pfeiz!' little pipe, come off, else I knock thee off; dear little rind, do draw thee now, my lord god pipe! Woycicki kl. 1, 92. 151 tells us, that to get a marvellous *pipe* (fuyarka) that can make everybody dance, one must find in the forest's gloom the green willow that *never heard the rush of water nor the crow of cock*: 'co by nigdy nie słyszała szuma wody, ni piania koguta.' This detail, expressly picked up among the peasantry on the Pruth and Dniester, strangely coincides with Pliny's statement 16, 37 [71] : 'ex qua (sambuco) magis canoram *buccinam tubamque* credit pastor ibi caesa, ubi *gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat.*' Of peeling the willow there is nothing said (see Suppl.).

An old AS. spell for *fær-stice,* sudden stitch in the side, was communicated to me by Price from the Harley MS. no. 585 fol. 186. First, three herbs are to be boiled in butter, *feverfew* (febrifugia = febrem fugans, Capit. de villis, Pertz 3, 186), *red* *nettle* that grows through a fence (conf. p. 1200, through a sieve), and *waybread,* OHG. wegabreita, plantago: 'Wið færstice *feferfuge,* and seo *reáde netele* þe þurh ærn[1] inwyxð, and *wegbræde,* wylle in buteran.

Hlûde wæron hî, lâ hlûde, þâ hî ofer þone hlæw ridon,
wæron ânmôde, þâ hî ofer land ridon.
scyld þû þe, nu þû þisne nîð genesan môte.
ût, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!
stôd (I stood) under linde, under leohtum scylde,
þær þâ *mihtigan wîf* hyra mægen beræddon (mustered),
and hî *gyllende gâras* (whizzing lances) sendon.
ic him oðerne eft wille sendan (I'll send them back another)
fleogende flân forane tô geanes.
ût, lytel spere, gif hit her inne sie!
sæt smið, slôh seax lytel (hammered little knife)
. . . . îserna wund swiðe.
ût, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!
sex smiðas sæton, wælspera worhton,
ûtspere, næs (was not) innspere.
gif her inne sie îsernes dæl (any iron),
hægtessan geweorc (witch's work), hit sceal gemyltan (melt),
gif þû wære on fell scoten, oððe wære on flæsc scoten,
oððe wære on blôd scoten . . . . .
oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne sî þîn lîf âtæsed,
gif hit wære *êsa gescot*, oððe hit wære *ylfa gescot*,
oððe hit wære *hægtessan gescot*, nu ic wille þîn helpan:
þis þe tô bôte *êsa gescotes*, þis þe tô bôte *ylfa gescotes*,
þis þe tô bôte *hægtessan gescotes.* ic þîn wille helpan.
fleo þær on fyrgen (flee to the desert) . . . . !
heáfde hâl westu, helpe þîn Dryhten!
nim þonne þæt seax, âdô on wætan.'

A few gaps give trouble. The whole is based on the assumption that the stitch is caused by the shots of spirits. Loud over land and rock have ridden mighty women, hægtessan (p. 1040), and have sent whizzing darts, afterwards more narrowly defined as 'êsa, ylfa and hægtessan gescot,' shot of âses (p. 25), of elves (p. 443) and of witches (though the gen. sing. is used, not pl. hægtessena). The exorcist, in relating the transaction, calls to the patient to shield himself, that he may get over the attack,[2] and every now and then puts in the refrain 'Out, little spear, if herein thou be!' He goes on to tell how he stood under shelter when those women let fly their darts, and means to send them a counter-shot, a knife, whose smiting by a smith is reported, as also that of war-spears by six smiths. Every bit of the witches' iron shall melt, wherever it may have been shot, into skin, flesh, blood or limb; help is nigh. Lastly: flee thou (enchantress) to the wilderness! be thou (patient) well in thy head, Lord help thee! At the conclusion of the spell the knife (that forged by the smith?) is to be dipt in water. Apparently after 'scoten' there ought to be 'oððe wære on bân scoten'; and perhaps after 'fyrgen' some such words as 'seo þone flân sceát (or, sende)' (see Suppl.).

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[1] 'Should be hærn, conf. hærnflôta, Cod. Exon. 182, 9.'—Suppl.

[2] 'þisne nîð genesan.' In AS. this verb takes the Acc., not the Gen. as in OHG: þâ sæcce genæs, Beow. 3950. nîða gehwane genesen hæfde 4789. fela ic guðræsa genæs 4848. se þâ gûðe genæs, Cædm. 121, 33.

For other spells hitherto unprinted I have to thank Mr. Kemble. 'Cwið ymbe, nim *eorðan,* oferweorp mid þînre swîðran handa under þînum swîðran fôt, and cwet:

fô ic under fêt, funde ic hit.
hwæt, *eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwylce,*
and wið andan, and wið æminde,
and wið þâ micelan mannes tungan.

and wið on forweorp ofer *greot* þonne his wirman, and cweð:

sitte ge, etc.' (here come the verses given at p. 431).

For the water-elf sickness: 'gif mon bið on *wæterælf-âdle,* þonne beoð him þâ hand-næglas wonne, and þâ eágan tearige, and wile lôcian niðer. dô him þis tô læcedôme: eoforþrote, cassuc, eowberge, elehtre, eolone, mersc-mealwan-crop, fenminte, dile, lilie, âttorlâðe, polleie, marrubie, docce, ellen, felterre, wermôd, strâwbergean leáf, consolde. ofgeot mid ealað, dô hâlig wæter tô, sing þis *gealdor* ofer þriwa:

ic benne âwrâð betest beado-wræða,
swâ benne ne burnon ne burston,
ne fundian ne feologan ne hoppettan,
ne wund waxian, ne dolh diopian,
ac him self healde hâlewæge,
ne ace þe þon mâ, þe *eorðan* on eáre ace (âge?).

sing þis manegum sîðum. *eorðe* þe onbere *mid eallum hire* (i.e. Earth's) *mihtum and mægenum.* þâs *gealdor* mon mæg singan on wunde.'

The *earth,* caught up in the right hand from under the right foot, heals and shelters; 'might and main' belong to the earth. *Hâlewœge* answers to our heilawâc, p. 585.

About the elvish *mare* and *nightmare*, what was said on p. 464-5 is by no means all: they ride not only men but horses, whose manes in the morning are found dripping with sweat and tangled, conf. Svantevit's horse p. 662. Cannegieter in Epistola de ara ad Noviomagum reperta p. 25 says: 'Abigunt eas *nymphas* (matres deas, mairas) hodie rustici *osse capitis equini tectis injecto*, cujusmodi ossa per has terras in rusticorum villis crebra est animadvertere (conf. p. 660). Nocte autem ad concubia equitare creduntur, et equos fatigare ad longinqua itinera. Illud namque datum *deabus* illis *magis*que, si rusticorum fabulis credimus, ut *manentes* loca peregrina adeant, in *equis manentibus*, qui tamen viae labores sudore testantur. Nuper confabulatus mecum villicus aegerrime ferebat equos suos proxima nocte exagitatos, defluente per corpora sudore; causam cum quaererem, respondit iratus, *mairam nocturnam* equitasse.' To this *maira* nocturna, be it akin to *matrona* (p. 417) or even to *μοῖρα*, one might be tempted to trace our *nachtmar, nightmare*, had we not a better derivation at hand. To the OHG. marah (equus), AS. mear, ON. marr, seems to correspond the AS. fem. *meare* (surely a better spelling than mære), ON. *mara*. True, the OHG. meriha means only equa, not ephialtes, and we now distinguish mähre from mahr; on the other hand, in ON. it is to the fem. *mara* that the demonic sense attaches, and so early as in the Yngl. saga cap. 16 king Vanlandi is trodden to death in his sleep by a mara: 'mara trað hann'; when his people rush to his aid, 'trað hun fôtleggina,' and at last 'kafdi hun höfuðit, svâ at þar dô hann.' The image then seems to waver between the ridden beast and the riding trampling one, just as the devil sometimes rides men, sometimes as a horse takes them on his back. Like the *mara*, we saw p. 278 that the *Stempe* treads. Wolf (nos. 249—254) gives some good mare-stories from the Netherlands; I lay special stress on a spell-song he has against the sprite, p. 689:

> O *maer*, gy lelyk dier (ye loathly beast),
> komt toch dezen nacht niet wêer (again)!
> alle waters zult gy waeyen (shall ye wade),

alle boomen zult gy blaeyen (disleaf),
alle spieren gerst (spikes of barley) zult gy tellen,
komt my toch dezen nacht niet kwellen !

With this take a Henneberg spell in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 360 :

Das *wallala* alle berge durchtra (-trab, trot),
alle wasser durchbât (-bade, bathe),
alle bletlich âblât,
onnerdesse wörd's tak (until it be day) !

Both refer to the spirit's nightly jaunt, it trots over all the hills, wades (or bathes) through the waters, strips the trees, counts the corn-stalks, until the break of day; then on the maerentakken (mistletoes ?) the mare is said to rest. The name 'wallala' may come from wallen, wadeln, or be a cry of wail (Gramm. 3, 293), for the night-spirits (Sup. I, 878) appear as wailing-mothers (p. 432-3, and Schm. 4, 54).——A third spell I take from Schreiber's Tagb. 1839. p. 321 : '*Drude's-head,* I forbid thee my house and yard, I forbid thee my bedstead, that not over me thou trostest (trottest ? treadest ?) ; trost to some other house, till over all hills and waters thou climbest, and all the hedge-sticks ehlest (zehlest, tellest ?) ! Then comes dear day into my house again.' Drute is the same thing as mahre, as drutenzopf (plica) is also called marenzopf, alpzopf, and drutenfuss maeren-voet. I think the most important point is, that the sprite is shy of daylight, and the dawn scares it away (p. 466 n.) ; the Alvismâl closes exactly like these spells : '*nu scînn sunna î sali*' ; conf. 'dagr er nû,' Sæm. 145^b. I hope the spell may yet turn up in other places, and in a purer form.

Healing-spells are fond of beginning with something in the narrative way, some transaction from which the remedy derives its force; and it is here especially that we find heathen beings left high and dry. When a spell opens with 'Sprach jungfrau *Hille,* blut stand stille !' who can fail at once to recognise the old valkyr *Hilda,* her that can make blood flow and stanch it again ? And even when the opening words are '*Mary* fared afield' or '*Christ* he crossed the land'; when a charm against finger-worm says '*God the Father* afield did ride, stoutly the hoe

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[1] ἐπαοιδῇ αἷμα κελαινὸν ἔσχεθον, Od. 19, 457.

he plied, stubbed up the worms outright, one was black, another white, the third worm it was red; here lie the worms all dead'; it is clear that such formulas could not have originated in christian times, but might well survive among the people, who had merely to insert new sacred names. The heathen incident that would account for the obscure or senseless words, is mostly hidden from us. On p. 1232-3 'Jesus' and 'the Lord' have taken the place of Wuotan. '*Christus* in petra sedebat, et virgam manu tenebat,' Mone's Anz. 7, 609; or again, '*Job* went over land, had his staff in hand.' When '*Jesus* and *Peter* wandering go from country to country to and fro,' it is evidently the same widely diffused notion as at p. 337; but it is not always so easy to hit upon the heathen names that lie at the bottom. A favourite way is to start with *three* personages: as the idisî fall into three sets (p. 1231), so the *three Marys* look out (p. 416), like three norns or three fays. '*Three brothers* went afield' (Keisersb. ameis 50^a; 'three blessed br.,' Spell XXXI.). '*Three virgins* come down from heaven to earth, the one *Blut-gülpe*, the next *Blut-stülpe*, the third *Blut-stehe-still*,' Märk. forsch. 1, 262; the last is the maid Hilda named alone in the other spell. I will only add from Roth. de nominibus vet. Germanorum medic., Helmst. 1735. p. 139: 'Juvat subnectere incantationis formulam, qua in Marchia Brandenb. atque adjacentibus regionibus in ophthalmia curanda uti solent anus decrepitae, insanos ritus deperientes, quam quidem factis variis gesticulationibus ac digitis ante dolentes oculos ter decussatim motis, *rauco susurramine* semel atque iterum *emutire* consuescunt, ita autem habent: Ibant aliquando *tres puellae* in via virente, prima noverat remedium aliquod contra suffusionem oculorum, altera noverat remedium aliquod contra albuginem, et tertia profecto contra inflammationem, eaeque sanabant una ratione omnia, in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen' (see Suppl.).

Against particular diseases the remedies are pitted as though in mortal strife: 'de *ros* un de *wied*, de stan in strid, de *ros* verswann, de *wied* gewann'; or, 'de *flecht* (scrofula) un de *wied*, de krakeelten sik, de *wied* de gewünn, un de *flecht* verswünn,' Meckl. jahrb. 5, 102-3; or again, 'de *flockasch* (flugasche) un de *flechte*, de flogen wol over dat wilde meer; de *flockasch* de kam wedder, de *flechte* nimmermehr,' Sup. I, 811 (see Suppl.).

Spells for the wishing-rod, when it is to strike treasure or a vein of metal, see p. 975. A formula used in looking for a clay-pit, in whose earth are to be wrapt up the written slips of paper which shall clear up a doubtful matter, in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 190.

In addresses to animals whose encounter is prophetic, whose ways are mysterious, we may fairly recognise antique spells, though their language has undergone a great deal of distortion; such are the rhymes to the swan, p. 429, the stork 672, cuckoo 676, Martin's bird 1130, Mary's chafer 695, and others, whose essential identity among the most various branches of our race is an interesting feature.

In Scandinavia, where the reign of heathenism lasted longest, ought to be found the greatest number of such spells, either in writing or in the mouths of the people; and from them we could gather most distinctly the connexion, both of the words and of their import, with heathen notions. The spell by which Grôa was about to disengage the stone from Thôr's head, p. 375, is not preserved in the Edda, but spells quite similar may have been still muttered over men and beasts in recent times. Much to be desired is the speedy publication of a collection set on foot by L. F. Rääf in Sweden, and containing over 2000 articles, of which a preliminary notice appeared in the monthly Mimer (Ups. 1838—40) pp. 271—7. Among these spells now reduced to writing, isolated runes can here and there be recognised even yet, and in some cases their use is enjoined; thus, on the mode of compelling a thief to restore stolen goods on pain of losing his eye, we find the following prescription: Go at sunset on Sunday evening to a place that lies high, bearing a bucketful of water, cut the rune S, and charge the thief within a certain time to bring back what he has stolen, or lose his right eye. The rune S apparently refers to Sunday and sunset, perhaps to syn (sight, eye); does it also in connexion with the water-vessel point to the word sâ (situla)? Most likely the water was poured out, and ran down the hill (see Suppl.).

FINIS.

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